MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA REVIEW

3 APRIL 1981

Lebanon

Zahlah, Beirut Clashes--Beirut radio reported that artillery and rocket exchanges continued throughout 2 April in the eastern town of Zahlah. According to the Voice of Lebanon radio, Palestinian and Syrian forces ignored cease-fire orders issued by the Syrian deputy chief of staff. The radio indicated that the three Cabinet ministers from Zahlah have threatened to resign unless the government takes measures to end the fighting. Later the radio alleged that the Syrian-Palestinian "attack" on Zahlah was continuing on 3 April. A report by the clandestine Voice of Palestine radio said efforts to ease the tension have failed because Phalangists continue to fire on Syrian Arab Deterrent Forces (ADF). Meanwhile, according to Beirut radio, violent clashes erupted in the capital on 2 April, spreading throughout Beirut. The Voice of Lebanon alleged that the fighting began when Palestinian forces opened fire on Lebanese Army positions, but the Voice of Palestine broadcast a statement by the Palestinian-Lebanese Joint Command denying this and blaming the clashes on the "isolationist" forces. Lebanese Army and ADF units ignored an order by President Ilyas Sarkis to cease fire at midday, Voice of Lebanon reported. On 3 April the radio reported that Public Works and Transport Minister Ilyas al-Hirawi went to Syria to consult with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad. According to Voice of Lebanon, Al-Asad has promised to intervene personally to end the fighting.

Israeli Operation in South--Citing an IDF spokesman, Jerusalem radio reported that IDF forces carried out an operation north of Sidon during the night of 2-3 April, killing two "terrorists" and returning safely to base. Voice of Palestine radio, on the other hand, said that joint forces had thwarted the landing attempt.

Egypt

The Government of Egypt has lodged an official protest with the Israeli Government over the Israeli decision to dig a canal linking the Mediterranean and Dead Seas, Cairo radio reported.

Israel

In a statement broadcast by Jerusalem radio, MK Moshe Dayan said he has decided to run for the Knesset on an independent list of candidates. He added that the official announcement will be made on 4 April.

Jordan

KUNA, citing the newspaper AS-SIYASAH, reported that Jordan has secretly mobilized some of its reserve forces after observing Syrian forces massing on its border.

Haig Visit

Among a variety of media comments on the forthcoming visit to the Middle East by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, the Kuwaiti newspaper AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM and the UAE paper AL-WAHDAH have criticized U.S. policy on the region. According to KUNA, AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM said Haig has prepared a "conspiracy" to liquidate anti-American Arabs. ENA reported that AL-WAHDAH criticized Secretary Haig's statements on the Soviet threat to the Middle East, saying that the United States is seeking to drag the Arabs into a conflict that will not benefit them and into "secondary issues." A Cairo radio commentator, discussing Haig's coming visit, pointed out that since the belief of most Palestinians in armed conflict against Israel has allowed the Soviet Union to penetrate the Middle East, the "best way" to confront Soviet penetration would be to resolve the Palestinian problem by satisfying the "legitimate and national aspirations" of the Palestinians.

Iran-Iraq Conflict

Good Offices Committee--The chairman of the good offices committee, Guinea President Ahmed Sekou Toure, said the committee has instructed PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat and Islamic Conference Secretary General Habib Chatti to return to Tehran and Baghdad shortly to continue efforts to achieve a cease-fire and to further explain the committee's proposals. In his remarks, reported by SPA, Toure summarized the committee's current proposals as follows: 1) both sides should accept a cease-fire supervised by Islamic forces and, they would choose the Islamic states participating in these forces; 2) a committee would be established to undertake the withdrawal of forces, the demarcation of the two countries' international borders and a "meticulous study" of the Shatt al-'Arab problem; 3) a factfinding Islamic court would be established to decide who is to blame for starting the war. SPA reported that Habib Chatti left for Tehran on 3 April, saying on his departure that Yasir 'Arafat was unable to accompany him owing to current events in Lebanon.

Khamene'i Interview--Supreme Defense Council spokesman 'Ali Khamene'i gave an interview in Kermanshah, broadcast by Tehran radio, in which he said Iran has obtained military equipment from "neutral governments" prepared to deliver them under "certain conditions." However, Iran has also relied on its own "initiative," Khamene'i said, making spare parts and weapons and "inventing new weapons."

Military Situation--Tehran radio reported Iraqi artillery attacks on Susangerd, Dezful, Abadan and Ahvaz and continued exchanges of fire on most western fronts. An Iraqi General Command communique, carried by INA, claimed that Iraqi forces attacked an Iranian unit in the Susangerd region, killing 74 Iranians and forcing the unit to retreat.

Iran

Committee Representative, Rafsanjani Statement--Tehran radio reported that Majlis Speaker Mohammad Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Supreme Court President Ayatollah Mohammad Beheshti and Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i have appointed Sheykh Mohammad Yazdi, the Majlis deputy for Qom, to represent them on the committee to investigate their disputes with President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr. The radio also reported that after meeting with Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni, Rafsanjani said that he had assured Khomeyni that "there would be no reaction by us" against "violations" of Khomeyni's 15 March directives by the newspapers ENQELAB-E ESLAMI and MIZAN.

Opposition Merger--The clandestine Voice of Iran radio reported that three groups in the Persian Gulf region of Iran that oppose the current Iranian regime have merged under a Coordination Staff of Persian Gulf Organizations. The new grouping aims to overthrow "Khomeyni's usurping and tyrannical regime" and "establish the constitution," the radio said. It comprises the Abu Moslem Khorasani Group, the Front of the Guardians of the Constitution and the Organization of Iranian Devotees.

Iraq

The clandestine Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan radio reported that four students were executed by the authorities after they were apprehended in an attempt to assassinate President Saddam Husayn during his visit to Zakhu.

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WALDHEIM VIEWS MIDEAST SITUATION, PROSPECTS

LD021005 Kuwait AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 29 Mar 81 p 17

[Interview given to 'Adnan al-Katib by UN Secretary General Dr Kurt Waldheim in New York--date not given]

[Excerpts] New York--Mr Secretary General, you visited the Gulf states recently and held talks with the Kuwaiti Government. Can you enlighten us about the nature of the talks and their results?

[Answer] I was pleased to visit Kuwait. I had comprehensive discussions with his highness the amir of Kuwait, the prime minister and other senior officials. We reviewed the international situation, particularly the situation in the Middle East, the Iraqi-Iranian conflict and the situation in Afghanistan as well as other current international problems. I had the chance to exchange views with the Kuwaiti leadership in a friendly and frank atmosphere. I take this opportunity to express my profound appreciation to his highness the amir and the prime minister for the unprecedented hospitality accorded to me and the valuable discussions I had with them.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, recently you met here (at UN headquarters) with U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig. Your spokesman announced at the time that the discussions with the U.S. secretary of state included a review of the situation in the Middle East. Did the U.S. secretary of state speak to you about his forthcoming visit to the Middle East? If he did, what do you expect from his forthcoming visit to the area?

[Answer] Yes. Secretary Alexander Haig briefed me on his visit to the Middle East. He explained to me that his government was now engaged in a meticulous study of the situation in the Middle East and that his visit to the area would be for the purpose of learning the views of the area's governments preparatory to charting the guidelines of U.S. Middle East policy.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, did your discussions with the U.S. secretary of state include any suggestion about a UN role to deal with the Middle East issue in the future?

[Answer] No. The U.S. secretary of state did not broach the subject of any UN role to deal with the Middle East issue in the future.

[Question] In your view, what are the priorities or the vital requirements for the achievement of a comprehensive, peaceful and just settlement to the Middle East problem?

[Answer] In my view, these requirements include the provisions of UN Resolution 242, despite my belief that this resolution is no longer suitable because it deals with the Palestinian issue as a humanitarian and not as a political problem. Therefore, I believe that time has come for dealing with the Palestinian issue in a positive manner. We must be fully aware that the Palestinian issue is the crux of the Middle East conflict and, therefore, any peaceful settlement to the Middle East problem must be based on it. The Palestinian issue must be dealt with on the basis of recognizing the Palestinian people's legitimate national rights and, at the same time, recognizing the right of all the area's states to live in peace and within secure borders. Before anything else, Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories must be achieved. The solution to the Palestinian problem must also include a just solution to the Jerusalem issue. We must not forget that this issue is extremely complicated, and I hope that all the parties will cooperate in renewed efforts to find a peaceful solution to this complex problem.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, when was the last time you participated in a discussion on the European initiative for solving the Middle East problem?

[Answer] As you are aware, the European countries have shown increasing interest in finding a solution to the Middle East problem. The European efforts are continuing. European officials have maintained close touch with the United Nations and with me personally on this subject. However, their initiative has been suspended pending the Israeli election and the clarification of U.S. Middle East policy guidelines.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, you are aware that the Soviet Union has called for an international conference on the Middle East in which the United States, Europe and all parties concerned with the conflict will participate, including the PLO. Do you favor the idea of convening such a conference at present?

[Answer] Yes. I believe that this proposal is extremely important and deserves deep study. I also believe that the preparations for such a conference must be made with extreme care.

[Question] In your opinion, what will happen if no just solution to the Middle East problem is achieved soon?

[Answer] Any long delay in finding a solution to the Middle East problem will, in my view, lead to a general and serious deterioration of the situation, particularly in the Middle East. Therefore, we must make efforts for peace, and I sincerely hope that this will happen very soon.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, you are aware that the big powers, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union, have recently been competing in intensifying their military presence in the Arab Gulf area. In your view, what are the necessary requirements for maintaining and ensuring the Arab Gulf area's security without compromising the sovereignty and independence of the countries in the area?

[Answer] As you know, the Arab Gulf area is politically and strategically important because it has oil. Therefore we must exert every effort to keep the area peaceful, because I do not believe in the principle of maintaining the Arab Gulf by military power. For this reason I strongly call for adopting peaceful means to keep the area free of military confrontation.

CHATTI CONTINUES MEDIATION; 'ARAFAT PREOCCUPIED

LD030928 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 0910 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Jidda, 3 Apr (SPA)--Habib Chatti, secretary general of the Islamic Conference and member of the Islamic good offices committee, left Jidda today for Tehran. His mission is to continue negotiations with officials in Iran and Iraq with a view to finding a formula for a peaceful solution to the conflict between the two countries. Chatti said on his departure that the committee is continuing its efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Iraqi-Iranian conflict. He added that due to current events in Beirut, PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat has been unable to take part in the present phase of talks.

REACTION TO FIGHTING IN LEBANON REPORTED

'Arafat Contacts Al-Wazzan

NC022134 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan, commenting after this evening's ministerial meeting at his residence, said: In view of the security situation and its effects on the general situation, and the extraordinary cabinet meeting scheduled for tomorrow morning, I decided to consult with some of the ministers who live in the area and who could come. He added: Our consultations were useful and enabled us to form a clear picture of the situation. This is bound to help us formulate the required attitudes.

The ministerial meeting was attended by Ministers Joseph Abu Khatir, Khalid Janblatt, Marwan Hamadah, Sami Yunis, Muhammad Yusuf Baydun, Dr 'Ali al-Kahlil and engineer Anwar as-Sabbah. During the meeting Walid Junblatt, the Progressive Socialist Party leader, who is in Al-Mukhtarah, was contacted.

PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat contacted Prime Minister al-Wazzan and confirmed to him the statement issued by the Lebanese-Palestinian Joint Forces Command and the commitment of these forces to that statement. 'Arafat also told Prime Minister al-Wazzan that he is against heating up the situation and against any escalation or security explosion becuase this would neither serve pan-Arab nor Lebanese interests. He said that he is against all that is happening because it serves Zionist interests.

Joint Command Statement

JN021718 (Clandestine) Voice of Palestine in Arabic to the Arab World 1615 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] The Palestinian-Lebanese Joint Command held an emergency meeting today under Brother Commander Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] who returned to Beirut this morning. The discussion focused on current developments in the Lebanese arena. At the end of the meeting a statement was issued on the sudden military escalation by the isolationist forces in Lebanon. The text of the statement is as follows:

The joint command held an emergency meeting during which it reviewed the sudden, serious and deliberate military escalation by the isolationist forces yesterday and today against peaceful residential areas in the western area and its suburbs as well as in the Zahlah and Al-Biqa' areas. This escalation was accompanied by information deception and distortion as well as deliberate instigation by the isolationist information media on the role on the lines of contact of the Palestine Liberation Army, whose units havebelonged for well over 2 years to the Arab Deterrent Forces which are under the legitimate Lebanese authorities.

This escalation coincides with statements by U.S. officials and the Zionist enemy leaders on their objectives in the Lebanese arena. It is an attempt to cover up the aggression inherent in the moves of the inhabitants of the Zionist settlements in northern Palestine. By bringing the situation to a head in the Lebanese arena, this escalation aims at implementing the U.S.-Zionist plan in order to emerge from the tight spot from which the imperialist-Zionist plan is suffering. It is also an attempt to impose surrender on the area within the framework of the Camp David plot, to Zionize Lebanon and to liquidate the Palestinian revolution and the entire nationalist Lebanese presence.

While being aware of this plot, the joint command asserts its strong determination to safeguard the security and interests of the Lebanese citizens and to clarify that it is the isolationist tools of the imperialist-Zionist plot who are responsible for implementing this plot in the interest of the imperialist and Zionist forces and that it is they who are flouting the interests of the Lebanese citizens throughout Lebanon.

The joint command appeals to the Lebanese masses to be aware of the nature of this plot and to confront it and expose its dimensions as well as those isolationist forces which are behind it and which are linked with the Israeli plot in the service of this Zionist enemy's designs against Lebanon and the Arab nation. While putting the facts before the masses, the joint command stresses the necessity of seeking to foil the opportunities of the imperialist-Zionist-isolationist alliance in order to safeguard the security of the Lebanese people and Lebanon's unity, independence, Arabism and stability.

National Movement Comment

NC031005 (Clandestine) Voice of Palestine in Arabic to the Arab World 0545 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] In a statement it issued yesterday, the Lebanese National Movement emphasized that the isolationist eruption comes in the course of the implementation of the plan that is being carried out by the Phalangist Party and which serves the Camp David goals. Moreover, the national movement considered that the situation in Zahlah is a matter that concerns it directly and that it will absolutely not allow the terroristic Phalangist domination of the city to continue, affirming that it will not neglect the security of Al-Biqa' and that it will work at turning the whole of Al-Biqa' into an impregnable barrier in the face of the Phalangist domination.

The Lebanese National Movement called on the people and officials of Zahlah to rise against the fascist Phalangist domination and to liberate the township from the sway of Bashir al-Jumayyil's militia. The national movement said that the recurring Israeli attacks against the south are an Israeli-isolationist insistence on completing the plan aimed at Lebanon's unity, Arab character and democratic development as well as the Palestinian revolution and the Palestinian people's issue. The national movement's statement added that the Israeli attacks accompany the series of internal eruptions that are being carried out by the fascist Phalangist Party in order to impose its hegemony on the areas of its domination and in order to penetrate the national areas and pressure the Arab Deterrent Forces to hamper their role.

The Lebanese National Movement called for the dismissal of the ministers who have obeyed the Phalangist request to meet with its leaders last night.

RESPONSIBILITY CLAIMED FOR EXPLOSION IN ISRAEL

NC300802 (Clandestine) Voice of Palestine in Arabic to the Arab World 0530 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] On the eve of Land Day, a group of our fighters carried out a daring operation against Zionist targets inside the occupied homeland during which it inflicted heavy losses on the enemy.

A statement by a military spokesman for the General Command of the Al-'Asifah forces has stated: At noon on 29 March and acting on instructions, Martyr Rafiq as-Salmi Group moved toward an assigned target on the main road between Netanya and Tel Aviv. The group planted a bomb inside an Egged bus, after which it successfully left the area. When the bus arrived at the central bus station in Tel Aviv yesterday afternoon, the bomb exploded, killing or wounding several Zionist enemy personnel. The bomb badly damaged the bus and caused material damage to nearby buses.

Immediately after the explosion, Zionist forces cordoned off the area and prevented the buses from entering the station. They also began to search for other bombs. Scores of Arab citizens were arrested on suspicion of participating in the operation. Our fighters returned safely to base.

SAUDI ARABIA

USSR REPORTEDLY SEEKING RENEWED DIPLOMATIC TIES

GF021625 Ash-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 2 Apr 81 p 6

[Excerpt] Informed Gulf sources believe the Soviet Union is currently making extensive efforts to resume diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia as part of a remarkable Soviet eagerness regarding the Arabian Gulf region.

The Gulf sources said the Soviets have asked Arab parties to mediate with Riyadh in this respect. Saudi Arabia had diplomatic relations at an ambassadorial level with the Soviet Union until the early 1940's, when Riyadh asked Moscow to officially withdraw its ambassador.

When 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, chairman of the PDRY Supreme People's Presidium, toured Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries last year, there was speculation on Aden's mediation efforts between Moscow and Riyadh to resume diplomatic representation in the two capitals. However, Saudi sources denied that the Saudi leadership had any intention of resuming diplomatic relations with Moscow.

The Gulf sources pointed out that the constant Saudi refusal may not have weakened the Soviets. They began to propose plan after plan calling for neutralizing the region and keeping it away from tension and international rivalries. The last proposal by Moscow in this respect came in Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the 26th CPSU Congress in which he proposed a meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan to discuss international relations and the security of the world's inflammable regions, including the Gulf region.

Soviet policy assumes that keeping the region neutral requires that balanced relations be established between the countries of the region and the superpowers.

YAR

PRESIDENT CALLS FOR LEBANON, GULF WAR SOLUTIONS

JN022148 Manama GULF NEWS AGENCY in Arabic 2045 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] San'a', 2 Apr (GNA)--YAR President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih has called upon the Arabs to work for solving the Lebanese issue and to refrain from intervening in its domestic affairs.

In a statement today the president said that the Arabs should take their hands off Lebanon and refrain from intervening in its domestic affairs. He wondered about the instability of this country although the Arabs believe in the necessity for this country's stability. He said that the Lebanese issue is organically connected with the Middle East issue.

The president called upon the world community to work for finding a just and comprehensive solution for the Middle East issue under an international umbrella which will give the Palestinians their legitimate rights.

The president called upon Iraq and Iran to resort to dialogue as the only way to end the war between them. He said that the continuation of this war is only a waste of the potentials of the Muslim peoples and constitutes a threat to the peoples in the region and world peace. He expressed his appreciation for the Iraqi response to proposals of the Islamic good offices committee. He also called upon Iran to adopt a similar stand.

TEXT OF 31 MAR AS-SADAT ADDRESS TO JOURNALISTS

NC311922 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1028 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Speech by President as-Sadat at proceedings on journalists day at Central Committee Hall in Cairo--live, with linkup of Cairo transmitters]

[Text] In the name of God, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, members of the fourth estate: I will start by saying that this meeting is long overdue. It should have been held, perhaps, after the May 1971 revolution. Who is worthier than the pen holders to be, together with the people, the first to celebrate the freedom of the Egyptian man on his land after the shackles of the detention camps were shattered, the rule of the law prevailed, the minority's domination of the destiny of the millions ended and when all the people became the center of power and the source of all powers. The meeting should also, perhaps, have taken place after lifting the cenrorship of the press in 1974. This censorship was one of the main restrictions on the freedom of expression. It continued withholding this democratic right for dozens of years, except for a few intermittent periods during which the press hardly lived in a normal healthy atmosphere before the censorship was reimposed to suppress it anew.

It is my opinion, however, that this delay made the date of this visit more appropriate, no, more useful and necessary. The visit coincides with three occasions. The first occasion is that the press, according to the provisions of the constitution, has become an independent popular estate fully protected in carrying out its message for the renaissance of society. It enjoys full immunity in carrying out its duties to protect the prerequisites of this renaissance.

The law on the power of the press was issued on 14 July 1980 to confirm in its early articles this democratic fact and also to confirm in a clear legislative provision that the journalists are independent and that they are subject in their actions to no control other than that of the law. This is the first occasion.

The second occasion is that this meeting comes following the first elections in your synidcate, when you represented the fourth estate. These elections came as a shining and sincere expression of the exercise of democracy through the free choice of the sons of the family of the pen. Here I repeat my congratulations to all those who won the confidence of their colleagues. I hope that this exercise will continue in this spirit in all your future elections.

The third occasion is that this meeting coincides with your celebration of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of your synidcate. What a difference between the present and the future. The law establishing the syndicate was issued on 31 March 1941. At the time, the doyen was appointed in accordance with a decision by the executive power. The syndicate included editors and newspaper proprietors. The syndicate's leadership was later appointed on the basis of an election. The 23 July revolution rectified the position of the syndicate on 30 March 1955. The law restricted its membership to active journalists. The comprehensive unionist framework was laid by the synidcate law, which was issued on 17 September 1970. This law is now in need of amendment. This amendment must conform with the democratic structure, now that the socialist union has been cancelled, that democracy has been established on the basis of the multiparty system and that party newspapers enjoying full freedom without any interference from any side have been issued.

Brothers and sisters, perhaps these three occasions, which are important occasions, constitute at our meeting today turning points along the road of democracy. The road of democracy, as you know, is wide and long. Regardless of how much we differ in our opinions and ideas and how many parties we have it is our responsibility that we all agree on defending the road of democracy against aggression. [applause]

It is also our responsibility to concentrate all of our thoughts and knowledge on this path so that it will not be exposed to darkness, because it is the people's course to the future.

Today we meet on this path. As I have told you, despite the fact that we might have charted this course belatedly it coincides with the three events I have already mentioned. This meeting is dear to me and close to my heart because all of you are veteran journalists and friends of ink, pen and paper. All of you, youth and successive generations, constitute the family of journalists, a family that I pride myself on belonging to, as a journalist and writer, before and since the revolution. [applause] I pride myself on being affiliated with it as a journalist and writer today and forever.

Here I must tell the young generation that I have more than one friend and colleague among you who took more than one manly and courageous stand at very dark times during the national struggle. [applause] I want to emphasize before you, our journalists family, that these stands are, with all their genuineness and dimensions, firm in my memory. The journalists who adopted those stands will always have the same status, no matter how much our views and positions differ with time.

Brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, members of the fourth estate, perhaps the most urgent question posed to us as we meet as the family of the press is: What is the journalism that we want for Egypt to build the present and the future? Since we are asking about journalism in the present and the future, we must not disregard the legacy of past journalism and its influence on history throughout the various stages of development. I will try to touch on the past briefly, because he who has no past will have no present or future.

The journalism of the past was the pioneer in this field. Journalism has passed through various experiments since the first official Egyptian newspaper, AL-WAQA'I' AL-MISRIYAH was published during Muhammad 'Ali's era in 1829. This paper was followed by others that were published by the governments. Of these papers was RAWDAT AL-MADARIS, which was published in 1870 and was run by Rifa'ah at-Tahtawi, and other government papers. Excluded from the government papers were three newspapers published by the people. One of these newpapers, NUZHAT AL-AQTAR, tried to attack the government, and Khedive Isma'il ordered it closed. Only two issues of this newspaper were published in 1869. Khedive Isma'il also closed down the newspaper ABU NAZZARAH when it criticized him. In the last period of Isma'il's era, the first issue of the newspaper AL-AHRAM was published in 1876 and was followed by other papers that supported national demands. Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad 'Abduh and 'Abdallah an-Nadim participated in editing these papers. Since they supported national demands, it was natural that they were closed down.

After Isma'il was deposed Tawfiq took over. Again, the national press received nothing but closures and abolition under Tawfiq's regime.

The the 'Urabi revolution broke out. Its press consisted of AL-MUFID and AT-TA'IF. There was also a paper founded by the Khedive, until the British struck at Alexandria and occupied Egypt in 1882. Then AL-'URWAH AL-WUTHQA was published in Paris, because it was banned in Egypt, in 1884. The occupation authorities then chose to fight the press with the press, under the false slogan of freedom of the press. They suspended the publications law of 1881. You all heard me say that the age of renaissance was very late in coming. It could have started from the moment the press was initiated or from the moment the first parliamentary council was born with all the constitutional powers and with a constitution that protected and defined the relationship between the ruler and the ruled. This constitutes the starting point for any state desiring to build a dignified, independent, free and dear entity, as the case was in Japan. We and Japan began at the same time, but as I have told you we suffered setbacks, while Japan continued and reached its present standing.

However, in our case, as I have told you, the AL-MUFID and AT-TA'IF newspapers of the 'Urabi revolution were all closed down. The occupation came. AL-'URWAH AL-WUTHQA was published, but was banned in Egypt. The occupation suspended the publications law which was promulgated in 1881.

Many papers appeared. They defended the rights and interests of the foreign states. It was natural that such parasites would appear. The occupation authorities published the newspaper AL-MUQATTAM in 1899. Our young generations did not see it, but we did. The occupation initiated the newspaper AL-MUQATTAM in 1899, but the nationalists at the same time published AL-MU'AYYID. It was edited by Shaykh 'Ali Yusuf, God bless his soul. 'Abdallah an-Nadim returned from exile in 1892 and published AL-'USTADH. But the occupation was bound to close it down, and it did.

Then Egypt came to know the leadership of Mustafa Kamil. Mustafa Kamil published AL-LIWA' in 1900 to fight the occupation and call for constitutional life. Then Lutfi as-Sayyid issued AL-JARIDAH in 1907. He called for democracy and upheld the slogan "Egypt for the Egyptians."

I hope I have not dwelt on this too long. As I have told you, I want us to review our past because we are about to ask the big question: What about our present and our future?

Now I will finish what I started to say. When World War I was declared the imperialists imposed the protection and martial laws. Despite all these things, some papers continued to curry favor with imperialism. Naturally, the national press suffered from the evils of coercion. A writer appeared who faced up to responsibility in its most splendid image. This was the late Amin ar-Rafi'i, who published the newspaper ASH-SHA'B. His national pride induced him to refrain from publishing the decision declaring Egypt a protectorate. He personally suspended his newspaper so that he would not tarnish its lines with this decision and so that he could announce his resistance to occupation and refuse to publish his newspaper. With his own hands, Amin ar-Rafi'i closed his own newspaper for 4 full years so that he would not publish the decision imposing protectorate status on Egypt. He did not again use the name ASH-SHA'B [Arabic for THE PEOPLE]. However, he resumed publication under the new name of AL-AKHBAR. The newspaper AL-AKHBAR, which is published by AKHBAR AL-YAWM, is indeed an extension of Amin ar-Rafi'i's newspaper; he was the original licensee.

This stance of Amin ar-Rafi'i is an immortal one. It is imperative for all of us, the journalists, to put it on record with all pride. My conscience dictates that I declare this is a holiday of the Egyptian national press. We give this holiday the name of Amin ar-Rafi'i.

Afterward came the incomplete independence of the 28 February statement. It came in the wake of the 1919 revolution. The famous dispute between Sa'd and 'Adli had broken out. Estrangement began and the press began to know sedition in national opinion. This state of affairs lasted until the promulgation of the 1923 constitution, when Egypt came to know political parties. The fate of the parties and of the whole country culminated in the worst state of affairs, which all of you have inevitably read about. The veterans among you lived it, exactly as I lived it. It is also inevitable that the youths have read about that situation.

What was the offshoot of the incomplete independence and of the battle which the parties had begun among themselves, at one time seeking help from the king and at another time from the British? Furthermore, the disputes and sedition which ensued naturally also reflected on the press. Democracy was artificial.

The British Embassy and the royal palace were in full control of the country. But despite all this, respectable Egyptian writers appeared. Meanwhile, and regrettably so, other writers gave way to whims.

The incidents of the 20's and 30's abound with strides forward and setbacks that occurred in the course of the struggle waged by the journalists. It is incumbent upon us to study these strides and setbacks in our family of journalists. We must also put down the facts of these strides and setbacks, because they are documented and they do not require taking great pains.

However, in the 40's the political situation deteriorated further. Egypt then knew for the first time the ideological leftist press alongside the party press, about which I have already spoken to you. Egypt then also knew the sedition and the friction that erupted in the country, be it in the domain of politics or in the field of journalism. As I have said, Egypt came to know the ideological leftist press in the 40's, together with the party press and the independent press. The palace also had its press. It is not shameful that we should now mention these things as we meet in our family of journalists. I will also talk to you in all our will, freedom, independence and decisionmaking. It is not shameful for us to mention and rectify these things, so that the country will never at any moment fall prey to something similar to what preyed on it before because of these stances.

As I have said, Egypt knew the ideological leftist press in the 40's beside the party press. Furthermore, and as I have told you, the 40's included strides and setbacks. All these things reflected on the press. At the same time, the press of a new and courageous thinking emerged. This press was represented by the AS-SARKHAH [Arabic for THE OUTCRY] which was published by Ahmad Husayn, then president of the League of Young Egypt. It was also represented by AL-LIWA' [Arabic for THE FLAG], which was published by the national party. This national press came to the fore in the turmoil of the fighting and political vituperations. As I have told you, the country was divided by the parties and its situation deteriorated. The press was also divided and there was repulsion and conflict. New independent newspapers, newspapers of the palace and leftist newspapers entered the domain of the press, in addition to the national newspapers about which I have spoken. At all times, there were national strides forward and the authentic national writers never fell silent, despite all that the country suffered in this period.

These conditions led to the political corruption, which in turn reflected on the conditions of the press in general. However, the pure national fire blazing for the sake of God and the Hoemaldn did not die. The people always found the world of light and right, despite the atmosphere of coercion and corruption.

On the technical side, the press industry developed in stride with the technical progress throughout the developing world. The art of the press developed into smooth writing, pictures, news and caricatures.

The 23 July revolution came to face all the positive and negative aspects of these conditions.

The press was reorganized in 1960, but Egypt suffered from the deception of slogans. I was one of the officials during this period and I do not feel embarrassed at all about admitting this. After the reorganization of the press in 1960, Egypt suffered from the deception of slogans. We tried socialism, which we applied, and imposed the one opinion and one idea. I am one of those responsible for this. [applause]

The May 1971 revolution took place 10 years ago. We rebuilt the state by issuing the permanent constitution, establishing the constitutional institutions and also establishing the rule of the law. The last touch of this rebuilding was the recent popular referendum on the amendment of the constitution and the establishment of the press as an independent popular estate and of democracy on the basis of the multiparty system.

I hope I have not taken long in this narration, but I only wanted to link our past with our present and future in order, as I told you, that we may be not be subjected to what we were subjected in the various stages. I made this review because I want to come out with four basic facts.

The first fact, and I want you to pay attention to it because I will return to it before I end my speech. Following my quick review of the press since the last century and until you became the fourth estate, the first fact is that we are beginning a new era for the press with this meeting. [applause] This is the first fact.

The second fact is that in the new building, we must benefit from the negative aspects of past experiences without disregarding positive aspects. We must also benefit from the world experiment around us. We are open to all the world with full confidence in ourselves.

The third fact is that nobody else builds for us. We are the ones who build with the Egyptian will and decision, with the word of Egypt and in the name of the people of Egypt and for their well-being. [applause]

The fourth fact is that the protection of the building we are now raising, not only in the press but also in all the branches and aspects of building in our new society, is our responsibility, both the majority's and the minority's.

In light of these four facts, to which I will return before I end my speech, as I have told you, emerges the question: What is the journalism that we want for Egypt in its new democratic structure? But before I state to you my views in answer to this question, I call on you to look around us, so that we will not be isolated from the world we are living in and so that we will find the solution that fits us in light of the factors of our state of affairs. What is happening in the world around us? At present, the world is embodied in conflicting dogmatic entities, of which the most conspicuous are the Western entity and the communist entity. Between these two rival and bickering camps stand several entities that are building themselves in a way compatible with their conditions, environment and traditions. Then there are other entities that are living in ignorance and there are still other regimes based on blood and crime.

We must have our own views and choice because, as I have pointed out to you in the four facts to which I will return, the decision is ours and the choice is ours. So let us look around us so as to determine our position on the world map. What does the freedom of press mean in Western societies? I said that there is a Western camp and an Eastern camp and in between there are entities building their societies in a way consistent with their circumstances, environment, traditions and values. What is happening in the West? The development of Western societies turned the press into huge commercial establishments that need enormous resources. Thus, the commercial aim became part of its formation and a means for its survival, or else it would come to a standstill. You can read examples about this all over the world.

The second phenomenon is that individual ownership of the press establishments in Western societies turned into a horrid restriction on the freedom of the press. Today, we have a living example of this--namely, the Australian newsman who recently purchased the London TIMES. With the purchase of the London TIMES, this man now owns one-third of the British press, the most powerful press in Australia and a large number of influential U.S. newspapers. Several reports were published recently, and you are following this with me, warning against this capitalist's exploitation of the press in his own interest and his influencing its writers because he owns one-third of the British press, the strongest Australian papers and a large number of influential U.S. papers. They in the West complained of this, not we.

Another example was recently raised at the British House of Commons after a British businessman bought the OBSERVER. It was announced in the British House of Commons by both the Labor and Conservative Parties that this action threatens the British press and its freedom and consolidates this businessman's control of the most important British newspapers. It was also announced that the new proprietor will exploit this old British newspaper, the OBSERVER, to serve the interests of his companies in the Third World. For this reason, the extreme wing of the Labor Party called for the need to nationalize the British press in order to safeguard democracy and socialism. They themselves are saying this and I am not quoting our sources. They in the Western societies are saying this. This is the state of affairs regarding individual ownership of newspapers.

The third phenomenon--the first was that the press became a commercial process and in order to survive it must be a commercial process. The second phenomenon in the Western press is individual ownership, which I just told you about; and the third pehnomenon is the misuse--under the name of the freedom of the press--of the freedom of the press in publishing news reports that infringe on national security, divulge state secrets and serve political conflicts. Then, as a natural result of this, the yellow press, which relies on crime, sex, incitement of instincts, attacks on sanctitites and the spread of scandals became--under the name of the freedom of press--a weapon dangerous to morals, values and virtues. Regrettably, as you know, this yellow press of scandals, sex, crime and the incitement of instincts and so on and so forth has the largest circulation. This is the third picture of what is happening in Western society.

Definitely, we can only depict these three pictures, which are the ingreients of the Western press, by saying that they endanger all human values and everything that is honorable in Western society in the name of freedom of the press.

We now turn to the other side. We have spoken of the Western camp. We now turn to the other camp--the communist camp. This camp deplores individual control of the press. One communist philosopher has an eloquent saying in this respect: Had the plague been able to become incarnate and to dispose of huge capital, no sooner would newspapers and books have appeared glorifying the plague, its historic mission and its white hands. Of course, this is nonsense. However, this is a fact. Regrettably, this is a fact. PRAVDA says that the freedom of the press and its objectivity are figments of the imagination. Information is a means of class struggle, not a mirror reflecting events objectively. This is what PRAVDA has to say. The freedom of the press and its objectivity are figments of the imagination. You all know what PRAVDA publishes comes in the first place from the Central Committee. It also passes through a million links. As you know, the whole of PRAVDA consists of four pages. Therefore, every word in this newspaper is written for an objective. This is how they see things: The freedom and objectivity of the press are figments of the imagination. Then they come out to us with their talk about the process of the class struggle and such words.

What did Lenin say? Lenin said: A newspaper should play the role of a propagandist and of a social provocateur. On the other side, there is a sex provcateur and scandals. On this side, however, there is a social provocateur. [applause] Lenin said that the press should play the role of the social propagandist and provocateur. The Soviet press has adhered to the maxim that the end justified the means. Naturally, we all know that this end is class dictatorship, and for its sake the press should be the sole opinion which expresses only this purpose.

Lenin also said that the monopoly of the press by the proletariat is real democracy, because all that the bourgeois press publishes is deception and misinformation. Since the communist objective is class control, there is no objectivity, tolerance or opinion except for the rule of the only class.

We do not accept the Western concept. When it comes also to the Eastern concept, it is a communist one. I do not believe that we will accept it. Never.

The Soviet Union's concept of the freedom of the press reflects the most obnoxious realities, or the most obnoxious results of the Soviet people. Therefore, the Soviet people have the right to know only what the Soviet Communist Party wants them to know--and nothing else, exactly in accordance with their statements, about which I have told you.

If the Western press suffers from excessive use of freedom and from the harm done by individual ownership and the appearance of yellow newspapers, then the Eastern press suffers from the coercion of the other opinion and the dictatorship of the only party, because this dictatorship imposes the publishing of viewpoints and news reports. This is exactly how the press suffered in the past under fascist regimes, such as Hitler's regime in Germany and Mussolini's in Italy. The people were allowed to read only what Hitler allowed to be published in Germany, or what Mussolini allowed to be published in Italy.

Well, don't we have the right to review these things to pinpoint our position on the map? If we now turn to the position of the Egyptian press, then we can determine, in general, that we have in one way or another passed through experiences similar to those I have mentioned. Yes, I admit it and I am one of those who was responsible for such experiences in the wake of the 23 July revolution. Prior to the 23 July revolution we suffered from the same things from which the Western press is suffering at this time. This is because we followed the Western system, or practiced the freedom of the press Western style, although this freedom was never perfect, never.

We suffered from the negative aspects of the Western experience prior to the 23 July revolution. And we suffered from the negative aspects of the Soviet experience through the implementation of socialism, which I have already mentioned and which, at a certain phase, we used as an ideology. This brand of socialism then drew us toward the one opinion, one party and one policy line of writing.

Well, all these things can happen. But what is the solution, and what is the role of the Egyptian press at this time amid these things? We have seen East and West and we have found out that we indeed waged the two experiences before and after the 23 July revolution.

We specify our position because our policy lines are clear-cut. They involve neither confusion nor ambiguity. Almost unanimously, the Egyptian people want the Egyptian press to be free of the interests of individual owners and of the hegemony of one opinion. When did this happen? It happened when the Egyptian people almost unanimously decided to make the press an independent popular estate, practicing its full freedom. Through viewpoints, authentic news, sound criticism and journalistic art, the press participates in building progress as well as in protecting Egyptian society.

The master of journalists has also called my attention to a matter, and it is inevitable for me to submit this matter to you because I have to say a great many things about it. This matter is the press code of honor.

This code has a story that I must relate to you. Our people have elected to make the press an estate having all the assets and safeguards of an estate. No one, apart from the constitution and the law, has any power over the press, exactly like any country estate and exactly like the three estates. The press is an independent estate and none other than its sons wields any sovereignty over it. They are represented by a higher council which, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, has the power to bolster the freedom and independence of the press. There are absolutely no restrictions on our press aimed at protecting any individual regardless of his position.

There will never be any restrictions on our press while it denudes shortcomings and mistakes, regardless of who has them or who commits them. There will be no custodianship over our press, except the custodianship of the journalists themselves.

Let us speak frankly about the issuance of the press law in implementation of the constitution. Some brother journalists objected to articles added by the People's Assembly committee. The matter was discussed and these articles were dropped. What I want you to know is that when I say that there will be no guardianship on our press other than that of the journalists, I give you everything related to the press, provided that in their guardianship the journalists adhere to their conscience, principles and ethics. [applause]

There were three stands on the law that was issued in implementation of the constitution and that was amended at the People's Assembly in response to your wishes. There was the bill that the Consultative Council prepared. You opposed it. The speaker of the Consulative Council and the state told you that the higher council has not been formed. Until the higher council is formed, let this be considered a temporary bill as the speaker of the Consultative Council said.

What I want you to know is that you are fully responsible for the press, through the legitimate channels. If amendment of the press law issued by the People's Assembly is required, first sit down in your syndicate and debate the matter. Then go to the People's Assembly and tell it: We are submitting this. There are definitely no other measures. It was never our intention to call things other than by their real names. If we say that the press is an estate, then it must actually be an estate. We are all responsible for this. There are no specific prearrangements in my mind to implement by beating around the bush. You have known me for 11 years. I never beat around the bush. I say my opinion.

As I told you, there were three stands. The first related to the law, and you amended the law at the People's Assembly. The Consultative Council issued a temporary bill. When the higher press council is formed, it and the People's Assembly can make the amendments you want. All doors are open.

The third stand related, as you remember, to the story of a syndicate or a club. I say before you that the idea of a club was mine. Yes, this was not a problem. Am I afraid of a syndicate? Never. I was actually placing you in the same position as the judiciary. This was what was on my mind. I wanted to place you in exactly the same position as that of the judiciary.

The judiciary is the third estate and you are the fourth. But is there any suspicion of an attempt to harm the judiciary's position? If there is a suspicion concerning the judiciary, then the same would apply to you. If the guarantees for the judiciary are complete, then the same would apply to you. Despite this, Mansur Hasan sat with you and some of you told him that the purpose was to destroy the syndicate's structure and power and such other terms, which were done away with long ago. Mansur Hasan came to me and said: The majority of the journalists want a syndicate. I said fine. Let it be a syndicate. This is no problem. [applause]

What I want to tell you is: Feel secure and safe as your people do. It is obvious from what I told you very frankly that legitimacy is what imposes itself. The state of institutions does not reject an opinion or an idea as long as they are expressed through legitimate channels and as long as the goal is the common good. There are various such channels. Let your syndicate study these opinions and ideas. Let the Press Council, the People's Assembly and the Consultative Council study them. I am prepared to receive your views, and you know this. Many veterans among you contact me directly. I am prepared for this.

We want to set up, on a firm and solid foundation, the edifice we want to erect in the coming phase. Therefore, never believe the confusion caused by rumors, the aim of which is to make use of any measures or intimations in creating an issue to the effect that a battle is raging between the press and the authority. By God, no battle has ever broken out between me and the press.

The reason is a very simple one--and you know it. This reason is that as long as I remain in my present ppsition of head of the Egyptian family--and I am proud of being the head of the Egyptian family, not of being a president--how could I be the head of a family and embark on a dispute with one of my children in my family? As far as I am concerned, this is utterly illogical. Never, a battle has never erupted. Some people tried to raise storms and to contend that a battle is raging between the state and the journalists. Furthermore, these storms were raised for purposes which you all know. These storms were raised either by people who had their own colors and their own ideologies and who had imagined that they could bring the journalists union under their control or by people who had lost their positions and who wanted to exploit journalism and the name of the journalists to recover something for themselves or to prove that they were something. This is why I took exception as far as you were concerned. You saw this image with your own eyes. Why did you not tell everyone: Stay where you are. That was the whole issue. However, there was never a battle, even when I dismissed 120 journalists and sent them to the Information Department.

I am telling you these things in complete frankness. Why did I take this action? I took it because I had only one alternative--and I am now talking about the beginning of 1973. I had to choose between rescinding my decision to establish a state of institutions and to enforce the supremacy of the law and reopening the concentration camps. Why? Well, is it reasonable that while we suffered from the wound of defeat some of our journalists should deepen this wound and proliferate defeatism and despair in lieu of telling the people to remain steadfast? This is the duty of the press. In times of crisis, it is imperative for the press to tell the people: Remain steadfast, remain steadfast, oh people. Never, we will never capitulate and we will never accept humiliation. It is inevitable for us to avenge ourselves.

Around the end of 1972 I found out that some journalists were not only writing defeatist articles but they were also going to the universities to incite the students. They sent the worst reports that could ever be written about Egypt to foreign news agencies. I always mention the three articles which correspondent David Hurst sent to the OBSERVER. The New York TIMES liked them and told him to write another three articles for them. All these things happened around the beginning of 1973. He wrote these articles while he was in touch with journalists personally known to me. I could opt for only one of two solutions--and I was embarking on the battle in 1973.

Gentlemen, these things are incorrect! All I did was to say to myself: Put them in the Information Department. Let this be a warning to them, or let it be to them as an electric shock. However, they were not sent to chicken coops. Nor were they deprived of their allowances, salaries or anything else--absolutely not!

On 28 September, that is, shortly before the battle, I reinstated everything. I am telling you these things in total frankness. These periods have ended once and for all. Then I faced the possibility of reopening concentration camps--and the people would have supported me. The reason is that I had reckoned that I would wage the battle in October. I could have opened these concentration camps in January and I could have announced names to the people. I could have also told the people: I have put them in the concentration camps. I could have done this. However, I have shown you that I never retract from any decision or bring down any edifice which would lead us to sound democracy and to human dignity. [applause]

I have not retreated, and I will never retreat, God willing. I will not backtrack until I hand responsibility over to whoever follows me. Is this, for example, what they hold against me? No, I say it here and declare it now, and I am prepared to say it 10 more times.

Today all that is finished and done with. Today I tell you that there is no trustee for the press other than you. As I have told you, the only trustees are the journalists themselves, based on the dictates of conscience, principles and ethics. On this basis you can change the entire press law and I will support you. Do what you like, and I will support you for the sake of Egypt.

You recall that, throughout these phases even before this decision--you recall that after the press became free in 1974 and all the pens got busy, I thought: Well, this is what I wanted. I wanted them to be free. When I say freedom of the press, I mean just that. Thank God, from 1974 to today there has been no press censorship and there will never be any. This is exactly the same as in the case of the detention camps, which I closed in 1971. God willing, those detention camps will never be reopened under any circumstances.

You recall that I once invited the journalists to Ra's at-Tin Palace. I told you then that I was disappointed with you. But one of the journalists said: We are used to punishment, not reproach, from a ruler. I pleaded with you to place Egypt before and above everything else. [applause]

What was it that pained me in those days? What pained me was that when the pens were set free they acted like someone deprived of something for a long time and suddenly obtaining it. He gets completely carried away. So they started saying that Egypt was dirty. So those people lying in wait in the Arab world picked it up and started saying that not only Egypt's streets were dirty but also its people, men and women, were dirty. They said this in Kuwait in articles about you. It is just like these days. They cite our opposition newspapers. Isn't it shameful?

Egypt is big, bigger than all of them. Egypt taught all of them. Isn't it shameful to give them fuel by publishing such things and then claiming heroism? They publish what you say, with the difference that, while here you talk about Egypt and its streets, in Kuwait they refer not only to Egypt's streets but also say that the men, women and everything else in Egypt are dirty. Just like that.

Today, they are picking up the defamations that appear in the opposition papers. Despite these we have not, and we will not, encroach on the opposition. What I want to deal with and talk about and submit to our party is the fact that the principle of sound opposition as we desire it has regrettably not been fulfilled. We must discuss this openly and we must, God willing, achieve it.

Regrettably, to this day, the opposition papers provide material for those whose inferiority complex about Egypt is killing them and who are filled with ignorance and hate.

I ask nothing for myself. What I ask for is Egypt. This is why when we published the newspaper MAY we did not write something under the word MAY connected with me, but we wrote that Egypt is above parties at all times. [applause]

The responsibility of the Egyptian press is large. We are still paving the way to answering the question: What is the solution, or what should our press be like today?

In the Arab world we stand as giants and pioneers in every domain, especially in the press domain--let alone the fields of medicine, engineering, sciences and so on. Egypt here is cited on everything. This is why all the pens of Egypt should be sublime and rise above all selfish inclinations and party maneuvering, because Egypt is above all.

Let us return to our consciences and be frank as we look at the Arab press, at the press around us today. It is the press of regimes that rule with steel and fire. Was the Beirut press not described as a free press and as the ideal? Look what the Beirut press has done to the people of Lebanon.

Regarding the fate of Salih al-Lawzi [murdered Lebanese journalist and publisher of AL-HAWADITH magazine], both Syria and Libya [were involved]. Libya paid $10 million and the other [Syria] agreed, because it is occupying Lebanon. Directly before that Salim al-Lawzi was here in Cairo. He came here from Saudi Arabia and asked to meet with me. I refused. Why? Because he came from Saudi Arabia.

I know, just as you all know, Lebanon's press and Lebanon's journalists. He would write what he was requested to write. Why should I meet with him? I did not meet with him. But he stayed in Egypt and visited all his friends. He tried the impossible. He even wrote in his last article: I wish that As-Sadat gave some of his time and his heart. Why should I give him some of my time and my heart? He came to write an article here, which he did later. Let him write it without meeting me. However, he would have said: I met As-Sadat and talked to him, but he would write the same thing he had in mind before he came here, because he got the money for it. Salim's price was a little high. [laughter] Regrettably. He stayed 10 days in Egypt. He was granted an interview by the prime minister. He did all this in complete security and safety.

He was going to Lebanon to attend the 40th day memorial service for his mother. Ten million dollars were paid by Libya. Syria gave the signal. Acid was poured on him. Terror was on his face when they found his body. I did not meet with him here. I will not waste a moment of my time with such people. However, this is a civilized country. There is security, safety, values and human dignity. He got an interview from Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil, but I refused to meet with him.

Let us take Libya as a comparison. You all know and heard what is going on there. Iraq: You all know what is taking place there. Saudi Arabia: Its press is known. Name a country. Where? Where, apart from Egypt?

Institutions are blown up. When the AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM [newspaper building] was blown up in Kuwait they said that Camp David was responsible. Soon after that, they caught them and found them to be Palestinians instigated by an Arab state. They were hired. Publishing institutions are being blown up. Assassinations are taking place. Some newspapers are owned by families. Some newspapers are bought by the dinars of the oppressors. It was something regrettable and shameful when 5 years ago one of the richest Arab oil countries discovered that Al-Qadhdhafi had bought its press. It was something shameful, really.

In the face of all this, Egypt's press is the beacon and the desired hope. This is the press with its opinion which cannot be sold or bought. It is the press of a people who redeemed the dignity of the Arabs with their blood and livelihood. This is what happened in the October battle. This is our press. Our press must be the beacon and desired hope, and you are going to make it.

I feel sad when I find that distinguished writers are being exploited by Arabs wishing to promote their newspapers that slander Egypt. They want to promote their newspapers which are published in London or Paris. Which names promote the papers in the Arab world? They are the Egyptian writers and journalists and analysts. In order to promote his newspaper, the publisher offers big sums of money. This is repulsive and I will leave this matter to your syndicate.

They, the dwarfs, have tried to isolate and starve Egypt. But Egypt remains unaffected.

The day before yesterday we heard a news report that Egypt has given arms [aslihah] to Iraq. What is the truth of the matter? The truth is that, you know--let us go back a little to remember the Baghdad summit conference, where Saddam Husayn threatened all of the Arab leaders, saying: Anyone who will not follow us against Egypt, we will get into his bedroom. Measures were also adopted. The "term" treason was used at the rate of 1 million times per second. They also boycotted us and demanded their assets in order to expose our financial position after halting the financial aid adopted at the Rabat conference. What did this mean? Starving and isolating Egypt, and they used every abuse and accusation in the Arab language.

In those days I asked, it was obvious, what have we done? What has Egypt done? All that Egypt has done is that it said: Oh Arabs, when we have an issue, let us take it in our hands and not nominate anyone as our custodian. I have an issue with Israel. Shall I let Russia or the Americans take care of it for me? No. I will take care of my issue myself. Thus, I visited Israel, sat at the table with them and said I have an issue with you and reached a solution. This is all that Egypt has done. Has Egypt relinquished anything of the Arab nation's or Egypt's? Never. It is only a question of spite, ignorance, impotence and inferiority complexes. This is all that we have done.

You know our views on Iraq's decision, and I announced that Iraq's decision to invade Iran is wrong because both are Muslim countries. They must never fight one another. We should have had an organization to apply the principles of the Sharia [Islamic laws]; that is, when two Muslim sects fight, we must intercede; if either of the two reacts, we should fight the one that transgresses. This is what should have been done. However, Egypt gave its opinion. I announced it and I still adhere to it. Perhaps all the Arabs understand Iraq because the whole world now understands it, but I do not know whether the Arabs will ever understand it. After the issue of the shah of Iran the whole world said that principles and values will triumph. The world holds Egypt in high esteem.

In the October war [As-Sadat corrects himself] Before the October war, Iraq sent us a squadron of aircraft. Iraq fought with us for 10 days and withdrew on the day the bulge occurred. [when the Israeli forces crossed the Suez Canal to the west] Iraq fought at our side for 10 days. Iraq did something: When the Soviet Union imposed a total arms embargo on us, including one of the strongest weapons on which we depended, namely, the ground-to-ground Luna missile, I found it in Iraq. Iraq sent us these missiles free of charge.

The Iraqis found themselves in dire need. They wanted some ammunition [dhakha'ir] which we produce here in the war industries and the Arab Industrialization Organization. They thought we are like they themselves--fanatics. They went through a third party and asked us. When the third party came to us, we told him: Tell those who sent you to come themselves. [applause]

Tell them to come to Cairo, and choose the types they need. The agreement was signed, and they began to take the things they needed. I told the late Marshal Badawi, may God bless his soul, who saw them. Vice President Husni told him: Tell them on behalf of the president: We wish we can give them to you free, but we are unable to do this. But you fought with us, and you have a position on the Soviet boycott. You are short, you take the things you have a shortage in. [applause]

Does this mean that I have changed my position or that Egypt has changed its position? No. This is an Islamic state which has invaded an Islamic state. This is wrong. But Egypt does not forget faithfulness at all. This is one of Egypt's values. [applause] You fought with me and you were brave. I asked for weapons from Iraq and at the same time from Indira [Gandhi] in India, but she apologized because the Soviet Union refused to give her permission. Iraq did not obtain permission from the Soviet Union. It sent me the missiles free of charge. I wish I can give Iraq something free, but I cannot.

This is what the vice president told the late Marshal Badawi to say. The Iraqis, who came here, were astonished because they believed that we were convulsive like them. They were convulsive when they described Egypt as treasonous and said: We will not talk to Egypt. No. I declare this so that everyone may know who he is. If this is our position, we the Egyptians, would we degrade the value of Egypt in front of these people? Was it not the Arab industries authority which they plotted to strike and render bankrupt after the Baghdad conference? I then said let it be transformed into an Egyptian authority. It was transformed into an Egyptian authority, and it now has served them, they who attacked it.

Egypt does not curry the favor of anyone, but we must not place ourselves in a position unbefitting us. This is a shame. We are not convulsive and when someone comes from Iraq to speak about politics we will tell him that the decision to invade Iran was a mistake. We might differ, but we will never resort to despicable means or to abuse and all that we saw in the Arab arena. Should we provide material to the Arabs so they can slander us? Should the opposition here write articles in our newspapers that cast doubts and are defamatory and that contain no opposition serving the national goal? Never, they contain nothing but doubts and defamation. Such articles appear in the newspapers here one day and are published in all the Gulf newspapers the next.

I am saying this because I have felt that many of my journalist colleagues have considered some things that I have said as an attack on the press. No. Never. The purpose of the entire process is that the Egyptian press must definitely become a mirror of the Egyptian people. It must be like the press of every democratic country, like ours, which respects the dignity of man and which closed the detention camps forever and put an end to bloodshed, political infancy and political adolescence. The press must become the mirror of this type of state, and Egypt is one of them. Does what some of us write, casting doubts for abroad, or what some among us convey to foreign agencies or journalists mirror our reality? I was not generalizing at all, but as journalists I tell you: You are responsible because your profession, the most honorable profession, is being exploited in order to strike at Egypt and distort its image. All I want you to do is to tell the persons doing this: Know your place. There has never been a generalization. I want our press to reflect our reality.

The same thing applies to what I said about the union. Well, I told you what my opinion was about the union. When Mansur told me, I realized that the majority of the journalists wanted the union. Well, let the union stay! This is absolutely not a problem. Let them have a union, since they want one!

Is it correct to say that the statements which were made by some former members of your union constituted Egypt's viewpoint and represented Egypt's people and image? Are the majority of Egyptians opposed to peace? There are some people who oppose it. Indeed, there are those who oppose peace. Furthermore, there were those who said no [in the referendum on the peace treaty]. At all times and in all places one can hear yes and no. However, and when we invited the people to a plebiscite on peace, 99.9 percent of them said yes. How, then, can the officials of the journalists union, which mirrors Egypt's viewpoint, portray Egypt as being opposed to peace? This is why I took exception: It was in your hands to rectify the situation and you rectified it. [as heard, applause] You abandoned the union and you did not go to it. Meanwhile, these people were closing their ranks. Then you went and said: No, we want to express our opinion. Then everything was finally corrected. [applause]

What are the hopes that I entertain for Egypt's press? I say that I want this press to be a beacon and a hope. I want it to be the press of viewpoints which can neither be sold nor bought. I want it to be the press of a people who redeemed the dignity of their Arab nation with their blood and livelihood. They did these things before the recent discovery of oil in our country.

May God be praised and thanked, oil was found in our country so that we could finally rid ourselves of the pretended favors on the part of those whose dignity we restored and those out of whom we made the sixth power in today's world, by means of the blood of our sons. I want our press to be a beacon and a hope for them. This is particularly true because they neither have a press nor journalists. We all know these states. They are exactly as I have reviewed them to you.

I want the Egyptian press to be the conscience of the Egyptian people, the democracy of the Egyptian people, and the image of unity and stability in the land of Egypt. This is what our press must always be!

I promise you. No, I do not promise you. I ask you that we should all pool our efforts. No human being can any longer claim for himself that he can do all kinds of work. Never. In the domain of the press, you are more responsible than I. I promise that I will work hand in glove with you so that a one-sided press will never again return. [applause]

Egypt needs all viewpoints and writers. The airing of divergent viewpoints through love, logic and proof is the means for convincing others. We reject the use of the pen to instigate people and to fan the fires of class hatred--as an ideological means. [applause]

We also reject inflammatory publications. When I say that we reject these publications, I say that I have never used my powers as president of the republic. For example, I am now talking to you, the family of journalists, in my capacity as the head of the Egyptian family. Whether I like it or not, I am also the head of the family of journalists. The reason is that I am one of you by profession. There can be no doubt about this! [applause]

When I say that someone is dejected, this means that we all tell him this. We will tell anyone who does such a thing: You are dejected. I need not apply measures, because I do not intend to ever take measures, except through the law and through the supremacy of the law.

Articles aimed at instigating and arousing people and at making attempts to prove oneself by means of imaginary battle are rejected. You all understand what I am saying. This is good.

I have said the things which I hope the Egyptian press will achieve. Well, what are the things which the people want of their press, things which we should together pledge to achieve? As I estimate it, the people want only one thing--responsibility. The people do not want censorship or concentration camps. The reason is that the people never ask for these things. Nor is it my nature in any way to impose censorship, open concentration camps or impose a new law.

However, as I told you, the people want responsibility from you. If we say that there is no responsibility without authority, we also say that there is no authority without responsibility. Responsibility in what? in safeguarding the basis of society, in respecting the heavenly messages, in publishing the facts, in abiding by the right of reply and correction. This responsibility is the first and last guarantee for the freedom of the press.

The responsibility of the press is a responsibility of conscience and ethics before it is a legal responsibility. This is what I want to tell you, and you have heard me repeat it often. There may be a pen that can outsmart the law, but there is no pen that can outsmart the principles of ethics. [applause] The law is composed of provisions that are liable to different interpretations, but ethics are the values on which no two persons can disagree. You have often heard me say that ethics are indivisible.

Consequently, I call on you to prove that the Egyptian press is able, through commitment and responsibility, to actually express the image, conscience, ethics, values and nobility of Egypt.

I also hope that the Egyptian press will prove that it can adhere to what others have failed to adhere to in the West or East--this is moral responsibility.

I am coming to a basic point. Since the establishment of your syndicate, you yourselves have chosen this path. Shaykh Hafiz spoke about the code of honor. What does it say under the duties? It says: The following are considered violations of the professional duties: Threatening the citizens with any of the weapons of the press; undermining confidence in the country, either directly or indirectly--undermining confidence in the country. Isn't this the code of ethics? Did I ask for more than this in the code of ethics? This is 10 times better than the code of ethics, because it shows with complete honesty how the conscience should be, not only of the journalist but also of the Egyptian citizen--undermining confidence in the country, either directly or indirectly; exploiting the public's fears by any means or excitement which contradict the art of the press and the public interest; deviation from the principles and beliefs which have been accepted by the society; making statements or hints which politically, economically or spiritually harm society; making statements or hints which are liable to benefit a hostile group at the expense of the homeland; exploiting the means of press publication for slander, defamation or accusing citizens unjustly and without national or legal justification; exploiting privately the written or drawn word for personal benefit which is harmful to others; or adopting the identity, idea or work of others.

In keeping with general etiquette, it is necessary to respect the private and public freedoms within the limits of the law and to safeguard the public against inaccurate information and the unfaithful portrayal of reality. Facts are sacrosanct and must not be mentioned, narrated or displayed in a distorted or effaced manner. An unconfirmed fact must be denoted as such when it is necessary to mention it. If the commentator's intentions are good, it is inadmissible to comment on unconfirmed facts. The reputation of individuals and families are safeguarded. It is inadmissible to announce an incident that might cause a citizen to be scorned. Any errors in the publication of information or statements will require the publication of a correction immediately upon learning the truth. It is inadmissible to attribute any stories, statements or deeds to any person without ascertaining the truth of their attribution. When extracting from the work of others, the name of its author or the source must be mentioned.

In the general provisions, it is stipulated that any violation of the provisions of this ordinance will be considered a violation of the law of the journalists syndicate. The violation will be subject to disciplinary measures and penalties stipulated in the law. Any amendment to this ordinance must be approved by a proper general assembly of the journalists syndicate, provided that a year or more has passed since its endorsement by two thirds of the present members of the Constituent Assembly.

This ordinance will come into effect merely on its ratification by the general assembly of the journalists syndicate and the minister concerned. By its enactment it will become a constitution for the syndicate members, who will adhere to it in their dealings among themselves and between themselves and others. The General Assembly endorsed the ordinance on 18 September 1964 and the guidance minister ratified it on 18 October 1964.

Does the code of ethics include 10 percent of what is contained in this ordinance? There was a conspiracy of silence on this. I say that our master was wide awake. Why? I understand that I discovered this but that nobody took heed. But he took heed because he acted according to his national conscience. For your information, I asked the socialist prosecutor and the party to combine the code of ethics and all the other laws, which they called the arsenal of laws on domestic unity and other issues, into one law. Today I borrow the code of ethics of the Egyptian citizen from you and from your General Assembly. [applause]

I will not add one word to the code of ethics to what has been approved by your General Assembly and which you adopted as a code of ethics of the profession. This does not constitute a code of ethics for the journalist's profession alone, but also a general code of ethics for the Egyptian citizen. Every Egyptian citizen must abide by this code. Your code of ethics contains more than what I asked be included in the general code of ethics. You have done it. [applause]

After saying all this, I would like to tell you and our people something simple about our press. The proprietor of our national press will not be a single individual. The proprietor will be the whole Consultative [Shura] Council. I believe this alone is a guarantee, because the council consists of 220 members. Say what you want; you have the People's Assembly, socialist prosecutor and the executive power to resort to. In other words, all the legitimate doors are open, but each of us must exercise his full responsibility in his place.

I want to give you simple figures about the present position of the press in order that you, our people and the world may hear them. I will quote figures for the year 1970, the year 1974, when censorship was lifted, and the year 1980.

AL-AHRAM's revenues in 1970 totalled 6,364,548 pounds, the expenses 4,344,000 and the surplus 2,196,000 pounds. After lifting the censorship in 1974 the revenues rose to 13,256,000 pounds, the expenses to 10,740,000 pounds and the surplus to 2,515,000 pounds. In 1980 the revenues totalled 53,795,000 pounds, the expenses 41,700,000 pounds and the surplus 12,095,000 pounds. This is in addition to the revenues from investments and deposits in free currency and Egyptian pounds, which amounted to $6 million and 5 million Egyptian pounds in deposits. [all figures as heard] Here I am just giving a quick picture. [applause]

The average circulation of AL-JUMHURIYAH's daily edition was 67,800 in 1970--I told you that we begin with 1970--and the circulation of its weekly edition was 125,800. Ten years later, at the end of 1980, the average circulation of the daily edition was 376,500 [applause] and the circulation of the weekly edition was 491,300. [applause] Regarding profits, the establishment continued to suffer a loss in all the years preceding 1978, but in 1978 it began to make profit. Its net profit then was 270,803 in 1978, 624,532 in 1979, and 636,888 in 1980. This is really something to be happy about. All this, in addition to the big projects such as the 90,000 square meters of 10 Ramadan.

I now come to the question of wages. The wages in 1975 were 546,622 and in 1980 were 1,202,000.

[Some remarks from the audience] Yes, AL-AKHBAR--I am looking for it. Well, AL-HILAL Publishing House first. AL-HILAL's 1971 total for wages, salaries, professional expenses and social security was 590,982. In 1980 that total was 1,999,570 or approximately 2 million. The total revenue was 2,194,793 in 1971 and 6,149,152 in 1980.

Regarding AL-AKHBAR--Yes, here it is--the total of monthly salaries in January 1971 was 71,642 and the total in January 1981 was 242,477, an increase of about 170 percent. Then we have the figures about distribution and advertisement. In 1971 AL-AKHBAR's revenue was 123,757 and in January 1981 it was 1,184,000. It jumped from 123,757 to 1,184,000. These are very great strides, thank God.

I also have the ROSE [AL-YUSUF] figures sent by Khamis. In 1971 the salaries were 178,984 and in 1981 the salaries were 911,418. There is of course the social insurance. The figure rose to 1 million plus. This, considering the circumstances of ROSE, is good.

Regarding the MAY Publishing House, as you know, the 5 million pounds were allocated for it. I laid its cornerstone in the 10 Ramadan City. The distribtuion of the past five editions exceeded half a million. The publishing house will be erected on 6 October.

Some have claimed that the newspaper MAY has taken money from AL-AHRAM. No. AL-AHRAM's budget will show that it made money from printing. [applause] We began the newspaper MAY with 100,000 pounds we borrowed from the Misr Bank, with a guarantee from the development fund. The figures will appear at the end of the year.

The MAY Publishing House is preparing to publish AL-LIWA' AL-ISLAMI, and it will also publish a newspaper for youths. We are using the name AL-LAWA', which was used by Mustafa Kamil for his paper AL-LIWA' AL-ISLAMI, and the AL-LIWA' for youths. There are also many other projects.

I have asked all the directors of the boards of the major publishing houses of AL-AHRAM, AL-AKHBAR and AL-HILAL to publish other newspapers so as to employ our sons who are graduating from the Information Institute. The journalism arena can include a large number of magazines and newspapers. I have noticed that the publication of the OCTOBER magazine did not take many readers away from the AL-AHRAM and AL-AKHBAR newspapers. The basic thing is that there are new readers for the MAY magazine while the AL-AHRAM and AL-AKHBAR newspapers retained their large circulation.

Thus, I repeat my request to the directors of the boards who are present with us here now to publish new newspapers and magazines because, as you know, journalism has become one of the most serious and costly businesses. It is very costly. I hope new papers and magazines will be published. As you can see, the figures from 1970 to 1980 soared rapidly and in a very honorable way. It is time that I concluded my speech.

I have told you that there are four facts, to which I will now go back to. The first fact is to begin a new era for journalism; the second is to benefit in our new edifice from the negative aspects of our past without ignoring the positive ones and to benefit from world experience--and we are open to the world with all self-confidence; the third fact is that no one else must build for us--we will build through Egyptian will, decision and word and in the name of the Egyptian people and for their good; and the fourth fact is that the safeguarding of the edifice is our responsibility, both as a minority and as a majority.

All of you and all of your people behind you share with me the regret about certain elements whom certain Arab countries are using as tools to attack Egypt. They are Egyptians. All right, in light of the new four facts, as we are beginning a new era for journalism with Egyptian decision and will, I take this opportunity, before you, not to refer them to the socialist prosecutor or to the prosecution--although they are completely convicted--and say: Any one of these journalists who returns by 15 May and joins the Press Association will be safe. [applause]

The decision is ours and the will is ours. As I have told you, although they utter obscenities against me every day I bear no rancor. For instance, I told you the story of Iraq, and Iraq continues to attack Egypt. However, I draw limits to disputes and I also draw limits to ethics. I also say that no one should take us for granted. [applause]

I say that since we have spoken of the family of journalists through the new edifice, and in view of the fact that we make our own decisions, we say: All those who come here up to 15 May--that is, in the next 1 and 1/2 months--and join the Union of Journalists will be safe. All the things which have been done will be forgotten. I announce this decision before you. [applause] Afterward, I think that the measures should follow their natural course.

It is inevitable for me to conclude my speech to you. But before I do so, I tell you that I have heard beautiful things about the press. Tolstoy said that newspapers are the presage of peace, the voice of the nation, the sharp sword of justice and the supporter of the oppressed and the enemy of the oppresser. Voltaire said: The press should turn into a machine that cannot possibly be broken, in such a way that it will always be capable of establishing a new world. Finally, a British professor said: It is better for us to be without a parliament than for us to be without a free press. This is because the freedom of the press is capable of restoring all other freedoms. [applause]

Brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, in concluding my speech I thank you all for having invited me. I implore God to make you successful in bringing about a double renaissance, through which you will confirm the power of the fourth estate through the responsible word of justice and the banners of the simple truth!

Brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, be always the witnesses of justice. Give your greatest love to Egypt. This is because Egypt has a big heart capable of bountiful giving and of limitless love!

The hopes which we pin on the new tomorrow are greater than our present, which throbs with our sweat and work. Through your honest words induce the strong present to produce even more. Live the greatness of sincere hope in a greater, brighter and happier tomorrow!

Brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, a writer is a stance and a word is honesty. However, the press consists of a writer and a stance; It is a writer and his word. Thank you all. To you I give my wishes for success. You have asked for the land; It is yours. [applause] We will also be your guarantors at a bank and we leave the rest to God. [applause]

ISRAELI PLAN FOR SEA-TO-SEA CANAL PROTESTED

NC021320 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] An official source at the Foreign Ministry has said that the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt has received the extreme anxiety the reports from Israel on the Israeli Cabinet's agreement on a project to drill a canal linking the Mediterranean Sea with the Dead Sea, passing through the Gaza sector. Moreover, Egypt has previously declared its strong objection to this project on the basis that its implementation by the occupation authorities constitutes a violation of the principles of international law and of the text and spirit of the Camp David accords.

Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Dr Butrus Ghali summoned the Israeli charge d'affaires at noon today and asked him to inform his government of Egypt's objection and its official protest of this Israeli stand, which is not conducive to the creating of an appropriate atmosphere for peace. Moreover, the Foreign Ministry has issued its instructions to the Egyptian ambassador in Tel Aviv to carry out similar efforts with the Israeli authorities.

The U.S. Government has been acquainted with Egypt's stand against this project through the U.S. ambassador in Cairo and the Egyptian Ambassador in Washington on the grounds that the United States is a full partner in the peace process.

GHALI VIEWS RESUMPTION OF RELATIONS WITH SUDAN

NC022146 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali has stated that the Sudanese ambassador to Egypt will start work this week. He added that the Arab Republic of Egypt and Sudan have decided to give new impetus to projects related to the integration of the two countries in various economic, social and political spheres.

ARMED FORCES GENERAL COMMAND COMMUNIQUE 294

JN021627 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1602 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Baghdad, 2 Apr (INA)--In the past 24 hours 103 Iranians were killed and 9 infantry positions, 2 tanks, 1 armored personnel carrier, 1 vehicle, 3 field guns, 6 piles of hardware and 2 observations posts were destroyed. Communique 294 issed by the Armed Forces General Command said that the Iraqi forces strongly hit an enemy force in the Khafajiyah [Susangerd] region and forced it to retreat after it had sustained 74 killed, whose bodies are still on the battlefield. The text of Communique No 294 issued by the Armed Forces General Command is as follows:

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate: Our valiant armed forces continue to pound the forces of the Magian Persian regime in the operational sectors. The result of the activities last night and today is as follows:

I. Known enemy losses:

A. Six were killed and three infantry positions and one armored personnel carrier were destroyed in the Sar-e Pol-e Zahab region.
B. Two were killed in the Gilan-e Gharb region.
C. One of our units clahsed with an enemy infantry force in the Khafajiyah region and strongly hit it with various weapons, forcing it to retreat after it had sustained 74 killed, whose bodies are still on the battlefield.
D. One observation post was destroyed in the Ahvaz region.
E. Our units strongly hit enemy personnel concentrations and positions in the Abadan region, with various weapons, inflicting the following losses: 21 killed and 6 infantry positions, 2 tanks, 1 vehicle, 3 field guns, 6 piles of hardware and 1 observation post destroyed.

Thus, total known enemy losses are: 103 killed, 9 infantry positions, 2 tanks, 1 armored personnel carrier, 1 vehicle, 3 field guns, 6 piles of hardware and 2 observation posts.

II. Our losses:

A. In personnel: Three matrys in all sectors.
B. In equipment: One personnel carrier, two mortars and one excavator damaged.

[Signed] The Armed Forces General Command, 2 April 1981

FRENCH MISSILES ADAPTED TO SOVIET AIRCRAFT

LD021131 Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Mar 81 p 28

[Unattributed report: "Magic Missiles on MiG-21 Aircraft--A Franco-Iraqi 'First...'"]

[Excerpts] According to reports in Paris the Iraqi Air Force was, during the intial stages of its hostilities with Iran, the first army in the world to equip Soviet aircraft with French missiles and to use them successfully against an adversary equipped with U.S. planes. It seems that this feature of the Iraqi-Iranian war was achieved with the aid of Pakistani technicians, who helped to adapt the missile to the aircraft. French military and industrial circles are making no comment. The Magic missile has been in mass production for 6 years and has been adapted to fit Mirage, Crusader, Alpha-Jet, Jaguar and Super-Etendard aircraft and other models of allied aircraft. Iraq's case is the first time that a foreign client has armed a Soviet-made fighter plane with this missile for operational purposes.

EMBASSY STAFFER IN BEIRUT KILLED, ANOTHER WOUNDED

JN021636 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1625 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Beirut, 2 Apr (INA)--The sectarian Sh'ubist gangs assassinated here today an employee of the Iraqi Embassy in Beirut. It has been reported that martyr employee 'Abbadi Manjal Husayn and his colleague Shamsi Muhammad Hamzah, who was wounded and taken to the hospital, were waiting on the corner at the Al-Mazra'ah-Verdun crossroad when fire was opened on them from a car, despite the presence of a Syrian Deterrent Force checkpoint 20 meters from the site of the incident.

ANTI-IRAQI RADIO CONDEMNS EGYPTIAN ARMS AID

JN021652 (Clandestine) Voice of Iraqi Revolution in Bahdinani Kurdish 1600 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Aid from As-Sadat and America to Saddam will not save the latter from the Iraqi peoples. Saddam's bloody, chauvinist and dictatorial regime which hides behind imperialism has been exposed. It is an agent regime that carries out the orders and designs of imperialist countries.

The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan has unmasked this regime and its policy through which it tries to deceive the Iraqi peoples and all the peoples in the Middle East by pretending to be hostile to imperialism. We have said from the first day of the Iraqi-Iranian war that this war only serves imperialism and is against the interests of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples. We also said that imperialism and the racist regimes in collusion with it are backing Iraq with all means to escalate the fighting in order to carry out their designs.

Yesterday, Anwar as-Sadat announced that the Egyptian regime has given aid to Saddam's regime in this [words indistinct] war. He also expressed his readiness to continue this support for the Iraqi regime. What As-Sadat said did not come as a surprise to us because we know what to expect from Saddam's regime. This regime stretches its hand to all reactionary and imperialist agent regimes in order to crush the nationalist movement in Iraq and throughout the Middle East, particularly our Kurdish people's revolution.

Progressive forces in the Middle East and throughout the world: You should know that this aid was decided upon in the Camp David accords. As soon as it signed these accords, As-Sadat's regime [words indistinct] but the U.S. Congress did not agree. However, it seems that the U.S. Congress has now approved the aid to Egypt so that this regime, in turn, can aid the Iraqi regime and give all its old arms to Iraq. We should understand that this aid to Iraq is not Egyptian aid but U.S. aid via Egypt. Although Saddam's regime is trying to conceal this fact, truth has come out and is as clear as the sun.

RADIO CLAIMS 240 IRAQIS KILLED IN 22 MAR BATTLE

JN021832 (Clandestine) Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan in Arabic 1615 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Zakhu--We had broadcast earlier news of the large pehsmerga battle against the enemy between (Batufah) and the (Zambil Frush) tomb on 22 March. The first branch has reported that the number of enemy dead and wounded in this battle has totalled well over 240, in addition to the destruction of 4 military trucks, 1 command jeep and 1 emplacement. The enemy continued its search for the dead and wounded until 27 March, transporting them on mules. On 28 March the authorities began an arrest campaign that included the innocent citizens in the region, particularly the relatives and families of the peshmerga.

REACTIONS TO BEIRUT, ZAHLAH FIGHTING REPORTED

Defense Minister Comment

NC021907 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] National Defense Minister Joseph Skaf today held several meetings to deal with the deteriorating situation in Zahlah. In all these meetings Minister Skaf affirmed the need to put an immediate end to the deteriorating situation there. He said: It seems that the plot against Lebanon is moving from one area to another to create further ruination and destruction. Following the flare-up that Zahlah witnessed recently and that was then contained, subversive elements have again started plotting to undermine stability.

Minister Skaf continued: We have said, and we say again, that what is happening in Zahlah and other Lebanese areas serves no one and that it cannot lead anywhere. Therefore, we ask all parties to act to put a quick end to the deteriorating situation. Anyone who does not contribute to calming the situation is an enemy of Zahlah, Al-Biqa' and all Lebanon. At this stage we must resort to reason and avoid the language of the gun, because innocent people are always the victims of these clashes.

In conclusion Minister Skaf said: It is about time that Lebanon emerge from the tragedy from which it has been suffering for 6 years. All Lebanese eagerly seek salvation. I do not think that any sincere citizen wants this situation to continue. While again denouncing what is taking place, we call on our people in Zahlah and Al-Biqa' not to be dragged into the plot, but to work to put an end to it.

Minister Flys to Syria

NC030957 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 0915 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] At 1100 today Public Works and Transport Minister Ilyas al-Hirawi left aboard a military helicopter for Damascus to meet with President Hafiz al-Asad.

In a predeparture statement Al-Hirawi said: What we want to say about Zahlah and all Lebanon, we have said at the cabinet meeting. The session is secret and it is my personal opinion that this is a fateful session and all the Lebanese beginning with the top of the pyramid, his excellency the president, and through the prime minister, must shoulder the responsibility.

Minister al-Hirawi added: We do not believe in partition or factionalism, but we believe that all the Lebanese must assume their fate under the present circumstances. Our effort is in response to a request and we will carry it out in all sincerity and patriotism. I hope that there will be a patriotic or humanitarian response.

Asked if he expected any results from his visit to Syria, Al-Hirawi said: I can expect some results. However, I am not back yet.

Asked if the cabinet adopted a unified stand on the violent shelling in Zahlah and Beirut, Al-Hirawi answered: The discussions are continuing. It is natural that the cabinet should adopt a stand at the end of the session.

It was officially announced that President Sarkis contacted President al-Asad this morning following the deterioration of the security situation, particularly in Zahlah city. The discussion dealt with the implementation of the cease-fire which the president of the republic had ordered at noon yesterday and with the measures which must be taken to stabilize the security situation.

It was decided to dispatch Minister al-Hirawi at 1300 today to meet with President al-Asad and acquaint him with the details of the delicate security situation in general and in Zahlah in particular.

It has been understood that as a result of this morning's contact, the Syrian president has, according to the official information, promised to intervene personally to tackle the issue and redress the deteriorating situation.

Sham'un Accusation

NC021545 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1215 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] In a statement today former President Camille Sham'un called for the deployment of UN forces throughout Lebanon. These UN forces, he added, must be provided with enough weapons to enable them to impose calm and security. Sham'un said that he had made such a request several times before, but that each time it had been ignored by Lebanese officials. Sham'un affirmed that we have no hope of any salvation expect by going to the UN Security Council and asking it to deploy the UN forces with the aim of getting rid of the Syrian and Palestinian occupation.

Sham'un said that Sarkis, Al-Wazzan and Butrus are negligent in their duties toward Lebanon. He added that their silence is considered unpardonable treason.

Sham'un warned that the deteriorating situation could extend to all parts of Lebanon if no serious UN action is taken to stop the deteriorating situation.

Sham'un, al-Jumayyil Comments

NC022012 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1715 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] After the command meeting held at the headquarters of the Lebanese forces this evening, former President Camille Sham'un said: We met to deal with the serious situation resulting from the flagrant aggression against Beirut and Zahlah which has caused many casualties and the destruction of many houses and establishments in the two towns.

During the meeting, which was attended by some cabinet ministers and members of all political and struggling bodies, we agreed on firm and serious basic points that will be discussed with the legitimate authorities in Lebanon. We cannot today give any details about these basic points. They will, however, be discussed, God willing, during the extraordinary meeting to be held by the Cabinet, and they will also be part of our discussions in the near future. At present we can only say one thing with complete resolve: We are prepared to deal with the situation that has arisen in Lebanon with all the power and influence we have at home, in the friendly Arab states and everywhere in the civilized world. To us, it is neither right nor permissible to allow Lebanon and the peaceful Lebanese people continue to be the target of the bloody aggression we are witnessing.

Asked whether the basic points he spoke about meant going to the Security Council, former President Camille Sham'un said: I ask you to just accept the statement I have just made. We cannot say anything about the decisions we have reached.

Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil said: I would have liked not adding anything to what former President Camille Sham'un has said. But I believe that the seriousness of the situation and the conditions in Lebanon have reached the breaking point. If we really want Lebanon to be the Lebanon we, the Lebanese, want, then we must unite our word. By this I mean Muslims and Christians. Lebanon cannot survive without these two wings. If we really want to preserve Lebanon, then we must agree, and I insist on the word agree, because we see that there is a hand working against Lebanon, the Arabs and the Palestinian cause and dragging Lebanon against its will to this precipice.

No Lebanese wants or seeks partition. We also see that some want to impose partition on us. It is known that this would lead to the destruction of Lebanon and to the loss of our independence. This would harm us and the Arab world, and it would be to the great advantage of Lebanon's enemies. The time has come for us, Christians and Muslims, to address the entire world frankly and with one voice about the Lebanon we want and about our unique and just cause.

Zahlah Groups' Appeal

NC030739 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 0615 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Appeal addressed by Zahlah organizations to President Ilyas Sarkis--date not given]

[Text] In your capacity as the supreme commander of the Arab Deterrent Forces [ADF] who are present in Lebanon under an Arab and international cover, you issued orders at 1300 yesterday, Thursday, providing for stopping the shelling of Zahlah city. The Syrian forces disregarded your orders. We now find ourselves facing the following:

1. The Syrian forces have stripped themselves of the legitimate, Arab and international cover.
2. By their odd actions, the Syrian forces have not safeguarded the dignity of anybody--not that of the legitimacy, people, or even their own dignity. They have no right to use dignity, which they have blown up to annihilate hundreds of peoples and destroy houses, as an excuse for their actions.

The dignity of the free man deserves defense more than that of the aggressor. Therefore, we appeal to you to give supreme orders for the expulsion of the Syrian forces from Lebanon and their replacement by the Lebanese Army. The fate of 200,000 Lebanese Christians is much more important than all countries.

Haddad Pledge

NC030905 Marj 'Uyun Lebanon Voice of Hope in Arabic 0600 GMT 3 Apr 81

["Text" of 3 April statement by free Lebanon Commander Major Haddad--read by announcer]

[Text] What is taking place against Zahlah and eastern Beirut is not surprising to us, because we were expecting it a long time ago and the Damascus summit has expedited its occurrence. President Ilyas Sarkis' failure to move on the international sphere to protect the sons of his homeland against the Syrians and their aides is but a definite proof of his advance approval of the elimination of every Lebanese resistance wherever it is found.

Major Haddad added: We have already warned many times of the gravity of what will take place but, regrettably, we did not get listening ears from the Lebanese or from the outside world, perhaps because were are materially poor. Anyway, we must not turn the wheel of events backward, but we must do the impossible to rescue the remaining sons of Zahlah and to prevent the destruction of eastern Beirut. For the sake of this everyone whose status or conditions permit him to do so, should direct his efforts toward the outside world, calling upon it to intervene to achieve the aforementioned goal.

In the same context, I have heard that the Christian ministers will submit their mass resignation in order to attain the aforementioned goal. Here I tell them, quoting Major Haddad, handing in the resignation indicates the feeblest of faiths and the easiest of methods of shirking the responsibility.

Moreover, it will not serve the Lebanese cause but the contrary is true for such a behavior will leave to the president and the remaining ministers the freedom of action and working to complete the plan of eliminating the Christians. For the sake of this, I request that they stay in their ministries and utilize their status to address the outside world and the UN Security Council without asking permission from the president or his prime minister. Perhaps by doing this they will be able to do something positive that will serve the Lebanese cause.

As for us, Major Haddad said in conclusion, we shall not leave any means within our reach but will use it to frustrate the Sarkis-Al-Asad plan.

'TEXT' OF MAJOR HADDAD'S 31 MAR MESSAGE TO REAGAN

NC010722 Marj 'Uyun Lebanon Voice of Hope in Arabic 0600 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Yesterday, the leader of free Lebanon, Maj Sa'd Haddad, sent a message to U.S. President Ronald Reagan. The following is the text:

His Excellency the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan:

On behalf of the inhabitants of free Lebanon and myself, we wish and pray to Almighty God to speed up your recovery so that you can once again lead the Free World. We strongly believe that you are the staunchest supporter of the usurped human rights in Lebanon.

[Signed] Maj Sa'd Haddad, leader of free Lebanon

CLANDESTINE RADIO FREE AND UNIFIED LEBANON HEARD

JN271728 [Editorial Report] The clandestine Radio Free and Unified Lebanon in Arabic was heard on 1500 kHz at 1455 GMT on 27 March. It broadcast music until 1645 GMT, when a brief newscast was carried. Following that the radio identified itself and announced that it would rebroadcast a speech by former Lebanese President Sulayman Franjiyah. It then carried music until it went off the air at 1659 GMT. Radio Free and Unified Lebanon, broadcasting on 1308 kHz and 6290 kHz, was last heard on 10 November 1980.

NO 'GREAT CHANGES' EXPECTED FROM HAIG VISIT

TA030747 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Shim'on Schiffer report--live]

[Excerpt] The talks [with U.S. Secretary of State Haig] will cover the need for balance and the supply of additional equipment--additional military equipment--to Israel, economic aid and ways to resume the autonomy talks. In the view of one of the political observers, Haig may, during his short visit, focus on reaching an agreement between Israel and Egypt about the main things concerning the multinational force to be established in Sinai before the final IDF withdrawal from there. In any event, Jerusalem has no great expectations from this short visit. Everyone knows that Haig will again declare Israel's central position in the pro-American regional strategic deployment and also the desire to strengthen the country economically. He will promise the Egyptians a continuation of the strategic dialogue, to take the form of the establishment of more bases, and an increase of security and economic aid.

In conclusion: no political initiatives or great changes can be seen on the horizon in the wake of Haig's visit to the area. The importance of the visit lies in the very fact that it is being made at this time.

SYRIAN, PALESTINIAN ATTACKS IN LEBANON CONDEMNED

TA031114 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Israel vigorously condemns the cruel Syrian attacks and those by the Palestinian terrorist organizations on the Christian population in Beirut and Zahlah. These remarks were made at noon by the spokesman of the Jerusalem Foreign Ministry. These attacks are causing innocent victims among the civilian citizens. Our political correspondent Shim'on Schiffer, reports that Israel regards what is now occurring in Lebanon with great gravity and it is not inconceivable that the issue will be brought up for discussion at the Cabinet session.

IDF HITS 'TERRORIST OBJECTIVES' NORTH OF SIDON

TA030510 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] An IDF force acted last night again, north of Sidon. During the action two terrorists were killed and their vehicle destroyed. None of our forces was hurt. At the end of the mission the force returned safely to its base. This has been reported by the IDF spokesman. Our military correspondent, Shmu'el Tal, adds that the IDF force reached the objective from the sea and worked on the coastal highway in the (Ra's Sa'diyat) area, about 25 km north of Sidon. Terrorist activity in that area is very great. The chief of staff, Lieutenant General Eytan, told our military correspondent that the objective of the action was to hit the terrorists' traffic arteries and disrupt their movements and the objective was obtained.

Further Details

TA030649 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] During the night an IDF force acted against terrorist objectives in southern Lebanon. During the course of the action the force hit two terrorists and their vehicle. Our military correspondent, Shmu'el Tal, who accompanied the action, reports:

[Begin recording] The IDF action was aimed against terrorists positioned in (Ra's Sa'diyat), about 25 km north of Sidon. Here there are the Lebanese coastal road and the old railway tracks. The force met the terrorists' vehicle and the order was given to hit it, one of the soldiers told us:

[Unidentified IDF soldier] We opened fire, the vehicle was burned and rolled over to the side of the road. We clearly saw two terrorists, with one of them making some gestures and [words indistinct]. Some fairly serious explosions were heard from the vehicle and, at the same time, we already heard the voices of people around, from the houses in the vicinity, so the withdrawal was carried out [words indistinct] and then we saw unarmed people and the order was given not to take them since it was certain that they were not terrorists.

[Tal] The (Ra's Sa'diyat) area is surrounded by agricultural fields, groves of trees, small, cultivated plots of land bordering the sea coast. Here is the castle which used to belong to Camille Sham'un and now terrorist are living in it. Not far to the northeast, the terrorists have built dugouts and other buildings used by them. Chief of Staff Lt Gen Refa'el Eytan said that the action was aimed among other things at making the terrorists' lives difficult:

[Eytan] A routine action of fighting and hitting the terrorists' transport occurred as planned and I regard it as having been successful because we achieved the objective and we returned safely.

[Tal] At the end of the action the terrorists fired at the place where their vehicle was set on fire. [sound of shelling] [end recording]

THREE LEBANESE MINISTERS SAID PREPARED TO RESIGN

TA030651 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] The Syrian Army and the Palestinian Liberation Army continued the heavy shelling of the Christian areas of Beirut and the Lebanese town of Zahlah throughout most of the night. To date the number of casualties in the Christian areas as a result of the Syrian attack is 70 killed and more than 200 wounded. The commander of the local Christian forces was saved by a miracle last night when his car was hit by a Syrian shell. The Beirut government is to meet in about 2 hours for an emergency session in an atmosphere of a crisis threatening its existence. Our monitor, Mikha'el Gurdus, reports:

Official Syrian sources declared last night that they would fight with all their strength against the organization of Christian Phalanges in Lebanon, which, according to the claims by Damascus, is responsible for the current flareup. The Syrians go on to say that the Christians initiated this flareup in accordance with Israel's orders, with the goal of canceling the dispatch of units of the Lebanese Army to southern Lebanon--a decision made 2 weeks ago at a meeting between the presidents of Syria and Lebanon in Damascus. The Christian ministers in the Lebanese Government, with Foreign Minister Fu'ad Butrus and National Defense Minister Joseph Skaf at their head, will present a series of demands at today's Beirut Government session formulated last night at a joint meeting they held with the Lebanese Front, which is the supreme executive branch of the Christians in Lebanon. Among these demands is the removal of the Syrian Army forces from the Beirut and Zhalah areas, an increase in involvement of the Arab countries in Lebanon in order to weaken the Syrian control over that country and that the UN Security Council discuss the latest Syrian attack.

The three Christian ministers, who are inhabitants of Zahlah, led by National Defense Minister Joseph Skaf, will resign today if the shelling of their town is not stopped. The other Christian ministers will cease their activity in the government if the demands we have mentioned are not granted. They will also demand an explanation from Syria as to why its forces did not stop firing yesterday at noon, despite an order issued by President Sarkis about this.

This is how a newscaster of the Christian Voice of Lebanon radio described the feeling of her fellow Christians during the night:

[Begin recording--Voice of Lebanon broadcast in English] They so much promised security-detente and new security measures, says the Damascus summit, turned [as heard] the capital, Beirut, and the detente [as heard] city of Zahlah into a real hell, as both were the targets of Syrian and Palestinian, as well as leftist, artillery--indiscriminate and wide shelling. [end recording]

All the broad promises about security calm to be returned by means of new security measures following the meeting between the presidents of Syria and Lebanon 2 weeks ago have turned the capital, Beirut, and the city of Zhalah in the [Lebanese] valley into a real hell. These have been targets for Syrian and leftist Palestinian [as heard] shelling, fired indiscriminately and blindly. The Christian radio station reported, at the same time, that during last night Syria sent in reinforcements of armor from Syria to the Lebanese valley--something that arouses the fear that Damascus intends to step up its attack on the Christians in Lebanon.

DAYAN TO RUN FOR KNESSET ON INDEPENDENT LIST

TA021801 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1740 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] A short time ago MK Moshe Dayan returned from a European tour. Prior to his departure he promised he would announce whether he would set up an independent list on his return to Israel. Dayan's associates said that he would not announce his decision before the Bamah convention on 4 April. Our correspondent on party affairs, Amnon Nadav, reports from Ben-Gurion airport:

[Begin recording] [Nadav] In spite of everything all the question marks have now disappeared. A few minutes ago, Moshe Dayan told me here that he had already made up his mind to run for the Knesset on an independent list. Final consultations on the list members and platform will take place today and tomorrow. The official announcement will be made at the Bamah convention in Ramat Gan on Saturday. Let us hear some of Moshe Dayan's remarks:

[Dayan] As far as I am concerned, I decided to do it--to run in the Knesset elections. However, I must meet and consult with the other members, hear their opinions and their final decisions. Although we have kept in contact by telephone, this is not enough. The meeting with the group of people that dealt with the issue during my absence will take place tomorrow morning. Since tomorrow is Friday there is no sense of convening a news conference--although we will make a decision tomorrow--because the papers will not appear until Sunday. Therefore, the final and official announcement will be made on Saturday, at the Bamah convention, which will take place. This is the situation. That is to say, what I have said so far regarding the decision or the positive conclusion refers only to me--both regarding the platform I envisage and the list of members willing to run in this independent list. As far as I am concerned, this list is sufficient to run for election.

[Nadav] To conclude, Moshe Dayan will run for the Knesset on an independent list. The official and formal announcement will be made on Saturday. [end recording]

LIBYA

CUBAN CONSTRUCTION MINISTER ARRIVES FOR TALKS

FL311206 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1030 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Cuba's minister in charge of construction abroad, Levi Farah, has arrived in the Libyan capital to begin talks with local officials on bilateral cooperation in this field. Levi Farah arrived from Angola, where he exchanged views with construction officials there to strengthen Cuban participation in the construction work being done in that country.

MAURITANIA

SOVIET ENVOY VOICES SUPPORT FOR NEUTRALITY POLICY

AB020811 Nouakchott Domestic Service in French 0700 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] The Soviet Union firmly supports Mauritania's just policy of neutrality in the Saharan affair as well as its stability and territorial integrity. The Soviet Union also supports the Africa, Arab and international policies of the Military Committee of National Salvation and the government. The Soviet ambassador in Mauritania, His Excellency Vladimir Startsev, said this yesterday during a press conference mainly devoted to the results of the recent CPSU Congress.

LEADERSHIP RECEIVES CONGRATULATIONS FROM PRC

LD312224 Nouakchott Domestic Service in Arabic 2030 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] The national leadership has received the following cable from the PRC Government:

The Chinese Government congratulates the government and people of Mauritania on foiling the criminal attempt which sought to overthrow the Mauritanian Government. The Chinese Government strongly supports, as it has in the past, the Military Committee of National Salvation and its government and people in their just struggle for protecting their national independence and sovereignty. The Chinese Government, while admiring the policy of nonalignment and neutrality which the Mauritanian Government is following, wholeheartedly hopes for Mauritanian stability and development; this responds to the aspirations of the Mauritianian people and to the interests of peace in the Arab Maghreb region.

MOROCCO

HUNGARIAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES

LD021016 Rabat Domestic Service in Arabic 2300 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Summary] Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Robert Garai has arrived in Rabat on a 6-day visit. He told journalists at the airport that the purpose of the visit is to develop relations between Hungary and Morocco.

ETHIOPIA

MENGISTU SENDS MESSAGE TO REAGAN ON RECOVERY

LD021246 Addis Ababa Domestic Amharic 0900 GMT 2 Apr 81 EA

[Excerpt] Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and of Commission for Organizing the Party of the Workers of Ethiopia and commander in chief of the revolutionary army, today sent a message expressing his sorrow at the assassination attempt on U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

In his message, Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam expressed his pleasure at the steady recovery of President Reagan as a result of the medical treatment he is receiving. Comrade Chairman Mengistu, on behalf of the people and government of socialist Ethiopia and on his own behalf, wished the president a speedy recovery.

ERITREAN LEADER ON UNITY OF FACTIONS, MEDIATION

LD021057 London ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 30 Mar 81 p 3

[Shafiq al-Asadi interview with 'Uthman Salih Sabi, general secretary of the Eritrean Liberation Front-Popular Liberation Forces, in Abu Dhabi--date not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] National unity comes foremost in the mind of those concerned with the Eritrean problem. What progress has been made and what are the future steps in this regard?

[Answer] In fact, the question of Eritrean national unity is one of the biggest concerns of the Eritrean revolution, because experience has proved that independence and the achievement of victory depends on the achievement of unity among the Eritrean factions. All the initiatives taken by brothers and friends in order to begin negotiations with Ethiopia have always met with the stumbling block of deciding who will negotiate. Therefore, all Eritrean and Arab efforts are now directed toward the question of unity.

There is now a continuing dialogue between the wings of the Eritrean Liberation Front, namely the Popular Liberation Forces of which I am the leader and the Revolutionary Council of which Ahmad Nasir is the leader in Khartoum. We have great hopes that we will succeed, because the points of difference are narrowing. We have agreed on a vital issue, namely to unify the two organizations through a general national congress to be prepared jointly after a period of coordination, the duration of which is to be fixed in the current talks.

[Question] It appears from your statements that you are preparing for a certain Eritrean political line. Do you feel that the Ethiopians reciprocate that inclination with a view to reaching a peaceful settlement?

[Answer] The Ethiopian side too desires a political solution, because the continuing war is exhausting its weak economy. There are about 90,000 Ethiopian soldiers who are forced to use expensive air transport in their movements because of the rebel's control of overland routes.

But the Ethiopians insist on a compromise, namely restoring the federation, whereas the Eritrean side will accept no substitute for independence, while it will understand Ethiopia's need for Red Sea ports. This issue and others relating to security, the Ethiopian Navy, and customs can be settled through negotiations and making mutual concessions.

There is now a Sudanese mediation and a Libyan mediation as well as a Soviet mediation. This is in addition to the recent Islamic mediation. But the success of these mediations depends on creating a unified Eritrean delegation.

[Question] Obviously willingness to unify the Eritrean revolutionary factions is a concomitant of political negotiations with Ethiopia. Does Isaias Afeworki, chairman of the Popular Front, agree with you?

[Answer] All the organizations disagree on this point. The basis of disagreement is that Isaias and his Popular Front want to negotiate separately after eliminating the two other factions by force. This situation has created an armed conflict which was wasted and is still wasting Eritrean blood to no avail.

[Question] What then, in your opinion, is the effective way to make Isaias accept unity and collective participation in leading Eritrean action.

[Answer] This can be reached through Arab pressure. The Popular Front receives aid from the Arab countries, and if these countries withheld aid to any party that rejects unity, Isaias might then accept unity.

[Question] With regard to your statement about the presence of major powers in the area and the danger posed by the presence, a proposal has been made to convene a conference in the future for the Gulf and Indian Ocean states and the African states. Will the Eritrean revolution be represented at the conference.

[Answer] In fact the proposed conference is not expected to take place, because the actual convener of this conference is the Soviet Union, through the PDRY Government and the Ethiopian Government; its aim is to drag the countries of the area toward recognizing the status quo in relations to Eritrea, in other words to confirm the Ethiopian occupation and lend legality to the Soviet presence in the area. We have expressed our view in this regard in a memorandum sent to the Arab countries bordering the Red Sea. We made it clear in the memorandum that Ethiopia is not a maritime country and its occupation of Eritrea does not give it the right to attend or participate in the proposed conference.

[Question] You mentioned that there was a Soviet initiative to reach a political solution. What are the elements of this initiative, and do you believe that it is possible to benefit from it in view of the present special relations between Moscow and Addis Ababa.

[Answer] The Soviet initiative came after the 1975 military coup in Ethiopia. Meetings were held in East Berlin with representatives of the three factions separately in 1977. Of course the East Germans represented the Soviet viewpoint, namely that the Eritreans should accept autonomy with international guarantees along with other ostensibly independent characteristics such as an independent representation of Eritrea at the United Nations, similar to the representation of some of the soviet Republics, such as the Ukraine and Belorussia.

Because of the lack of unity none of the factions was able to conclude a political deal, and on our part we have not reached any agreement. We do not refuse Soviet mediation or mediation by any state as long as it achieves our people's just and legitimate demand for independence. Understanding with the Soviet Union, if it can be reached, is useful because the Soviet Union is one of the two world superpowers and now has strong influence in Ethiopia. It is capable of influencing the Ethiopian side to reach a just solution.

[Question] Do you believe that the Sudanese-Ethiopian rapprochement contributes to the success of the Sudanese mediation and to reaching a peaceful solution.

[Answer] The Sudanese Government believes that by improving its relations with Ethiopia it can play a mediator role, but his is an extremely difficult equation. Ethiopia persistently asks Sudan to close the offices of the Eritrean revolutionary movement and ban their activities, although Sudan does not agree to this. Ethiopia cooperates with the Sudanese Communist Party and gives sanctuary haven to its elements, while Sudan chases communists on its territory.

Sudan's relations with the Soviet Union are very bad, and Sudan looks on the intensive Soviet presence in Ethiopia with suspicion and fears Soviet expansion in the area. Therefore, there are more points of disagreement than agreement between the two countries. I do not expect the Sudanese-Ethiopian truce to last long, nor do I expect the Sudanese mediation to succeed, because the Ethiopians also view Sudanese intentions with great doubts, particularly since Sudan did not accept Ethiopia's demand to pressure the Eritrean revolution and the Eritrean refugees under Sudanese protection.

[Question] With the possibilities of the success of most mediations diminishing, how do you view the Islamic mediation?

[Answer] The success of any mediation depends on the unity of Eritreans. Generally we do not expect a quick success for mediation, not even the Islamic mediation, because Ethiopia still rejects the principle of independence. In fact, it has announced its rejection of the Islamic mediations and the Islamic summit resolutions, because these resolutions recognize the Eritrean people's right to self-determination, which means that the armed struggle will continue for a long time with all the death and the destruction of resources consequent on it for the peoples of the area.

[Question] You are now in the UAE and have had talks with senior officials. What was the outcome of these talks?

[Answer] The UAE, headed by President Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan al Nuhayyan, gives material and political support for our right to self-determination and independence. It did so even before independence in 1967. The UAE has contributed to efforts to unify the Eritrean revolutionary factions.

Financially the UAE helps about 400 Eritrean students with scholarship grants in the Arab countries and 100 students studying in Europe. It also provides the Eritrean medical organization with $1 million's worth of medicines annually.

UGANDA

NAIROBI NOTES U.S. DIPLOMATS' FAMILIES EVACUATED

LD022040 Nairobi Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 2 Apr 81 EA

[Text] Reports from Kampala say that the dependents of American diplomats have been evacuated from Uganda because of a rising level of violence in and around the capital. The deputy chief of mission, Mr David Halsted, said today that five embassy wives and four children have flown to Nairobi. Mr Halsted said there had been no specific threats against Americans but their dependents should not be exposed to unnecessary danger. He said the evacuation had been prepared for several days and came as no surprise. The government of President Obote has tightened security around the embassy.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

NEW POLITICAL MOVEMENT FORMED BY FRANCOIS PEHOUA

AB011353 Paris AFP in French 1039 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Bangui, 1 Apr (AFP)--A new political movement, the Independent Group for Political, Economic, Cultural and Social Reflection (GIR) has been formed in the CAR by Mr Francois Pehoua, the former independent candidate in the 15 March presidential elections, it was learned Wednesday in Bangui.

Francois Pehoua, who obtained 5.3 percent of the total votes cast in the presidential elections, explained in a communique which announced the formation of the GIR that the recent consultations prove how difficult is the exercise of democracy in the CAR. He asserts that under normal circumstances, the movement that he represents could have attracted an important number of votes from fellow countrymen.

According to its manifesto, the GIR's objective is to fight against all forms of internal and external domination and enslavement; to see to the respect of the rights of man and of nations and to work hard to rebuild the CAR.

OPPOSITION FORMS COUNCIL; LEAFLETS CALL FOR STRIKE

AB030735 Paris AFP in English 0720 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Bangui, 3 Apr (AFP)--The four candidates defeated by outgoing President David Dacko in the Central African Republic's presidential election last month set up a provisional political council here Thursday to defend peace, unity and national sovereignty, as well as democracy and human rights.

The four politicians--Abel Goumba, Henri Maidou, Ange Patasse and Francois Pehoua--said in a statement that they had acted because of the dangerous threat to peace and democratic gains by recent flagrant violations of basic constitutional rights.

They spoke of the spontaneous anger shown by the people, who had been seriously insulted and humiliated in the 15 March presidential election.

Meanwhile, leaflets appeared in Bangui calling for a general strike today, when Mr Dacko is to be sworn into office. Signed by a central demonstration council, it said the election had been fixed by France, the former colonial power, and accused the Supreme Court on not acting on an opposition appeal that the elections should be annulled.

Since Mr Dacko's election, with just over 50 percent of the vote, there has been intermittent violence. Mr Dacko first coped with it by declaring a state of siege, which was this week downgraded to a state of emergency.

BENIN

MAURITANIAN MINISTER MEETS WITH KEREKOU, NEWSMEN

AB022211 Cotonou Domestic Service in French 1930 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Mauritanian Rural Development Minister Mohamed Ould Amar was received in audience this morning by President Mathieu Kerekou, to whom he conveyed a message from his leader Khouna Ould Haydala. After the audience he was interviewed by newsmen:

[Begin recording] [Mohamed Ould Amar] I have just been received by His Excellency Mathieu Kerekou, to whom I have conveyed a message from his colleague and brother, Lt Col Khouna Ould Haydala. The message deals with the recent aggression against our country and the threat that Moroccan authorities continue to pose to our country. The president has given me assurances that the Beninese people will continue to support Mauritania.

[Question] A Moroccan daily recently said that the last aggression was a scheme planned by Algeria in order to liquidate the Polisario Front and make it a burden for Mauritania. What do you think about this allegation?

[Answer] Of course, it is unfounded. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, the Military Committee for National Salvation and its government made the decision to withdrawn from the Western Sahara conflict, which our people and their leaders found unjust. Since that decision, our relations with Morocco have always been unfriendly. The Moroccan kingdom could not admit that Maurtania should pull out of that war. As is to be expected, the Moroccan press and authorities seize every opportunity to prove unfairly that they do not accept the fact that Mauritania, as a sovereign country, has made such a decision.

Since we pulled out, we have maintained a policy of neutrality toward all parties involved in the conflict. We have used all means to contribute to the settlement of the conflict. Of course, we have recognized the Polisario. But we have also tried to improve our relations with Morocco. While doing this, we have tried not to side with any party. We have established relations with Algeria. Before our withdrawal from the war, we had no diplomatic relations with Algeria. Now we maintain good-neighbor relations. So all that has been said by Moroccan authorities or media is false.

[Question] Mr Minister, Moroccan authorities continue to deny their involvement in the 16 March aggression. What is the truth?

[Answer] The Mauritanian authorities have published a booklet in which the aggression is described in detail. It appears that it was prepared, financed and launched by Morocco, and the evidence of this is irrefutable.

[Question] Mr Minister, Moroccan authorities continue to maintain that the Polsario Front is launching operations from the north of your country. Are these allegations true?

[Answer] As I have said before, we maintain a policy of neutrality. We have not granted any base to the Polisario Front. This can be verified by the OAU and by [words indistinct] if necessary. So it is proved that we have not conceded a base to the Polisario. However, it is true that the Polisario troops pass across the Mauritanian Sahara. We cannot deny this. But they also cross the Moroccan Sahara. The national territory of Morocco has been attacked by the Polisario on several occasions. Given this, Morocco cannot reasonably ask small Mauritania to watch over 1.1 million square km and to prevent it from being (?crossed). So the allegations are not true. The Moroccan authorities simply want to prepare African and international opinion for more overt aggression against Mauritanian territory. That is the significance that must be given to Moroccan propaganda. [end recording]

GHANA

COMMENTARY ON U.S. AID TO UNITA, TROOPS IN LIBERIA

AB0214 53 Accra Domestic Service in English 1300 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Station commentary by David Anaglate]

[Text] The new U.S. administration under President Reagan is asking Congress to reverse the ban placed on the supply of arms to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA subversive movement in Angola. The ban was imposed after a measure of improvement in relations between the U.S. and Angola, under the late President Agostinho Neto, following the routing of Savimbi and his South African backers in the civil war that erupted after independence in 1976.

No doubt the agreement under which the ban was imposed took account of the reality of the situation at that time with the MPLA administration in effective control of much of the country, including the enclave of Cabinda, where a giant U.S. oil conglomerate was still exploiting Angola's vast oil reserves.

The U.S. decision to call for the lifting of the ban can only be seen as part of the administration's policy of ensuring the emergence of pro-Western--even if puppet--regimes in Africa and elsewhere, that is, wherever the United States considers that it has vital interests to protect. And the United States has vital strategic mineral interests in near-by South Africa, not to speak of the huge returns on v ast U.S. investments in the racist republic.

Jonas Savimbi's UNITA movement is based solely on the loyalty of his own Ovimbunda tribe tribe in (Kempo) in southern Angola. Savimbi claims that he is resisting the presence of Cuban troops in Angola but this is only an attempt on his part to rationalize his having allowed himself to be used to do the dirty work of South Africa in trying to destabilize Angola. Five years after his defeat in the civil war, years which have seen massive reconstruction work throughout Angola under MPLA rule, Savimbi has no cause to levy war against his own country. He is only misdirecting the energies of his tribesmen into destructive channels.

As one commentator once put it to Savimbi, the UNITA guerrilla war has no more than a nuisance value, disrupting a rail line now and again on the Benguela line or kidnapping an MPLA supporter on other occasions, then rushing to London and Belgium to give an interview on BBC claiming to have inflicted heavy casualties on imaginary MPLA forces. What Savimbi should realize fully well by now, if he were not blinded by personal ambition and South African blood money, is that as Kwame Nkrumah used to say, imperialism has no permanent friends. It has only permanent interests.

For instance, in 8 days' time U.S. marines will be landing in Liberia, ostensibly to help train Liberian forces. This only shows the very close nature of the relationship between the United States and Master Sergeant Doe's government. Who would have thought that the United States can be so friendly to the regime that toppled and assassinated Tolbert, the darling of the United States in his days. But then imperialism has only permanent interests. Savimbi should take note.

In any case the United States is on very weak moral grounds in resuming arms supplies with a subversive organization like UNITA, for in that case, how can she justify her own opposition to Cuban and Nicaraguan alleged arms deliveries to the leftwing guerrillas in El Salvador. One only hopes the United States will change its mind.

ANGOLA

LUANDA REPORTS COMMUNIQUE ON BENDJEDID VISIT

AB311533 Luanda Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Excerpt] The Algerian head of state, Chadli Bendjedid, arrived in Maputo, Mozambique, yesterday after visiting Angola. He arrived in Angola on Sunday on a 24-hour working and friendly visit at the invitation of Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, leading a party and government delegation. During their discussions in Luanda, they worked out ways of stepping up the friendly relations existing between the two countries since the national liberation struggle in Angola.

A joint communique issued at the end of their meeting underlined their willingness to set up the two countries' joint government commission to discuss cooperation in economy, culture, science and technology. In relation to international issues, the two heads of state categorically denounced the U.S. Government's open interference in the internal affairs of Angola, the communique points out. The two presidents were referring to Ronald Reagan's call on Congress to lift the Clark amendment prohibiting Washington's military aid to the Angolan subversive elements of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

Algeria and Angola have also condemned racist South Africa's continued acts of aggression against the frontline states, its illegal occupation of Namibia including the racist clique's maneuvers aimed at delaying the territory's independence, the communique says. It also discloses that the two countries discussed the problem of Western Sahara. It says Morocco's annexationist and expansionist policy has come under strong condemnation. Angola and Algeria have also condemned Morocco's interference in the purely internal affairs of Mauritania and reaffirmed their support to the people of Mauritania.

MOZAMBIQUE

ALGERIAN PRESIDENT ARRIVES FOR OFFICIAL VISIT

Bendjedid Banquet Speech

LD022100 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 0000 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] President Bendjedid, president of the Republic and secretary general of the FLN, has arrived in Maputo on the fifth leg of his tour of 11 African states. Bendjedid and his delegation were welcomed by President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

At a banquet given in his honor by President Machel, Bendjedid made an important speech in which he said that Mozambique and Algeria had experienced imperialist domination and exploitation and attempts to submerge their identity. Bendjedid also spoke of the role of Mozambique in the struggle to put an end to imperialist hegemony and racial discrimination in Africa. Bendjedid praised this role, under the leadership of President Samora Machel.

Turning to Namibia, Bendjedid said that the failure of the Geneva conference on Namibia was yet another indication of the extent of South African rigidity. Increased support for SWAPO and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa were the only means of putting an end to the racist South African regime.

President Bendjedid said that there are several nations on other continents that still suffer from occupation and terror; such is the case with the Saharan people and the Palestinians.

Speaking on economic matters, President Bendjedid said that international economic relations between industrialized countries and developing countries are not at present based on fair principles. This made it urgently necessary to find a new, more just world economic order.

Official Talks

LD021824 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 2 Apr 81 EA

[Text] Official talks between delegations from Mozambique and Algeria opened in Maputo this morning led by Presidents Samora Machel and Chadli Bendjedid, respectively. Speaking about the opening session, President Samora Machel said that the talks were of particular importance inasmuch as they would enable the coordination of efforts for the construction of socialism in the two countries and in the struggle against imperialism in Africa:

[Begin recording] Comrade President Chadli Bendjedid, comrade members of the delegation of the National Liberation Front Party and government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria: The Mozambican people, from Ruvuma to Maputo, welcome you to Mozambique. The Mozambique people are fully aware of the very important role played by Algeria in the struggle for the liberation of Mozambique. We all recall with emotion how the first Frelimo fighters, the first soldiers of the people, were trained in your country and thereafter launched the struggle for national liberation.

For the political and diplomatic support always rendered by Algeria to Frelimo and other liberation movements, the Mozambique people celebrate along with the Algerian people their victories and successes. At misfortunes and natural disasters, the Mozambique people lament along with the Algerian people. Your absence has been felt in Mozambique and today our people welcome you with great happiness, with the same happiness with which families are received after a long absence. That is why your arrival constitutes a true day of festivity from Ruvuma to Maputo.

During your visit, we hope that we shall have the opportunity to give you the true picture about Mozambique reality: Our successes and efforts to gain economic independence and our difficulties and aspirations. We hope to have an opportunity to discuss with you our concerns on the international situation, particularly the developments in our respective zones. We want to coordinate efforts with you in the common struggle against imperialism within the OAU, the Nonaligned Movement and the UN.

Therefore, this is a meeting of fighters. This is a meeting of fighters for freedom from two different zones in our continent. Thus the meeting is of particular importance to our peoples. As in your zone, we are situated on the frontier of liberty--a stronghold of struggle. That is why we ask you Comrade President Chadli and your distinguished delegation to feel at home here. Thank you very much, comrades. [applause] [end recording]

Replying, President Chadli Bendjedid reaffirmed the importance of further strengthening the excellent relations of cooperation in various fields between Mozambique and Algeria. He also referred to the solidarity of the Algerian people with the Moambique people at a time when we are witnessing the intensification of imperialist maneuvers in southern Africa and the Boers aggression against Mozambique.

Shortly before the opening of talks, the president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, held a meeting with the diplomatic corps accredited to Mozambique.

ZIMBABWE

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON ALGERIAN PRESIDENT'S VISIT

LD021130 Salisbury Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 1 Apr 81 CA

[Text] The prime minister, Comrade Mugabe, has called for unity among all independent African states. Comrade Mugabe (?said) unity will contribute significantly to the attainment of independence by the oppressed masses on the continent, especially those in apartheid-ruled South Africa and Namibia. Comrade Mugabe made his remarks at a ceremony in Salisbury this morning when an agreement for the establishment of a joint commission of cooperation was signed between Zimbabwe and Algeria. The prime minister pointed out that it is necessary to improve the lives of the Zimbabwean and Algerian peoples through the establishment of beneficial bilateral relations. Comrade Mugabe pledged his commitment to strengthening the solidarity forged between Zimbabwe and Algeria during Zimbabwe's war of liberation.

In reply, the Algerian leader Comrade Bendjedid urged Zimbabwe and Algeria to be fully united in the struggle against the evil forces of racism of the African Continent. The agreement on the creation of a joint commission of cooperation between Zimbabwe and Algeria was signed by the minister of foreign affairs, Comrade Mangwende, and his Algerian counterpart, Comrade Ben Yahia. The commission, which will be an intergovernmental commission on economic, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation, will be composed of ministers from the two governments. It will also be responsible for the identification of bilateral programs of cooperation aimed at promoting the development of Zimbabwe and Algeria.

Comrade Mugabe and Comrade Bendjedid later issued a joint communique in which they strongly condemned the Pretoria regime's internal and Namibian policies. The communique pledged the two nations' commitment to working relentlessly through the Organization of African Unity, the Nonaligned Movement and the United Nations to end racial tyranny and exploitation in racist South Africa. Both leaders expressed their total support for the legitimate struggle being waged by the people of Namibia and of what they described as the gallant, sole and authentic leadership of SWAPO. The communique added that Comrade Mugabe and Comrade Bendjedid are concerned about the inability of the West to bring pressure to bear on South Africa to force it to change its inhuman system of racial discrimination. Both leaders denounced in particular the so-called constellation of states as a transparent ploy by the racist Pretoria regime to divide, dominate and exploit the people of southern Africa. Other areas mentioned in the document were the legitimacy of the Polisario Front, the need for massive international aid for refugees in Africa and the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean, including the dismantling of various United States bases.

The Algerian president left Salisbury for Maputo this afternoon. Comrade Bendjedid was seen off at the airport by the president, Comrade Banana, and the prime minister, Comrade Mugabe. Before boarding his plane, the visiting president inspected a guard of honor mounted by the air force to the music of the Zimbabwe Republic police band. Also present at Salisbury airport to see the Algerian president off were members of the Cabinet, senior government officials and members of the diplomatic corps.